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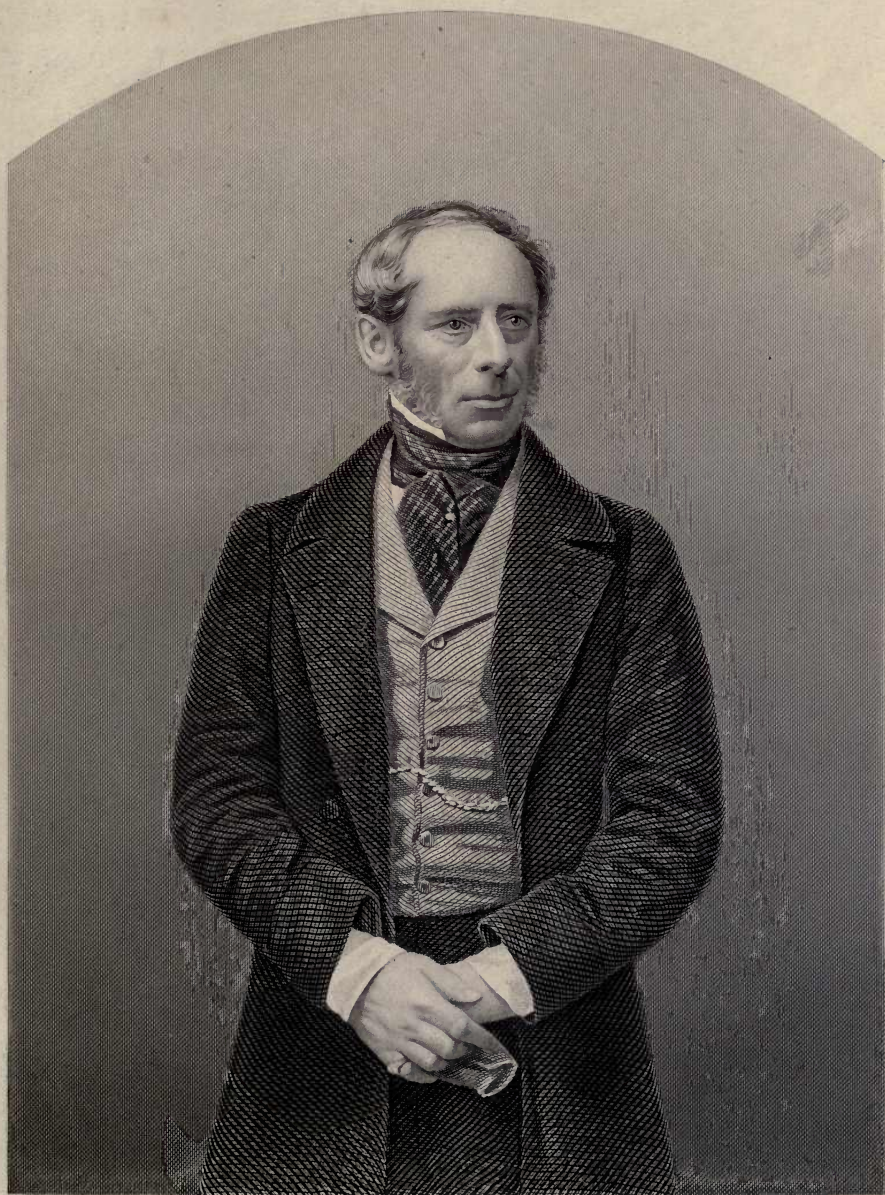
J.A.ROEBUCK.











SIR JOHN PAKINGTON.











DUKE OF ARGYLL.

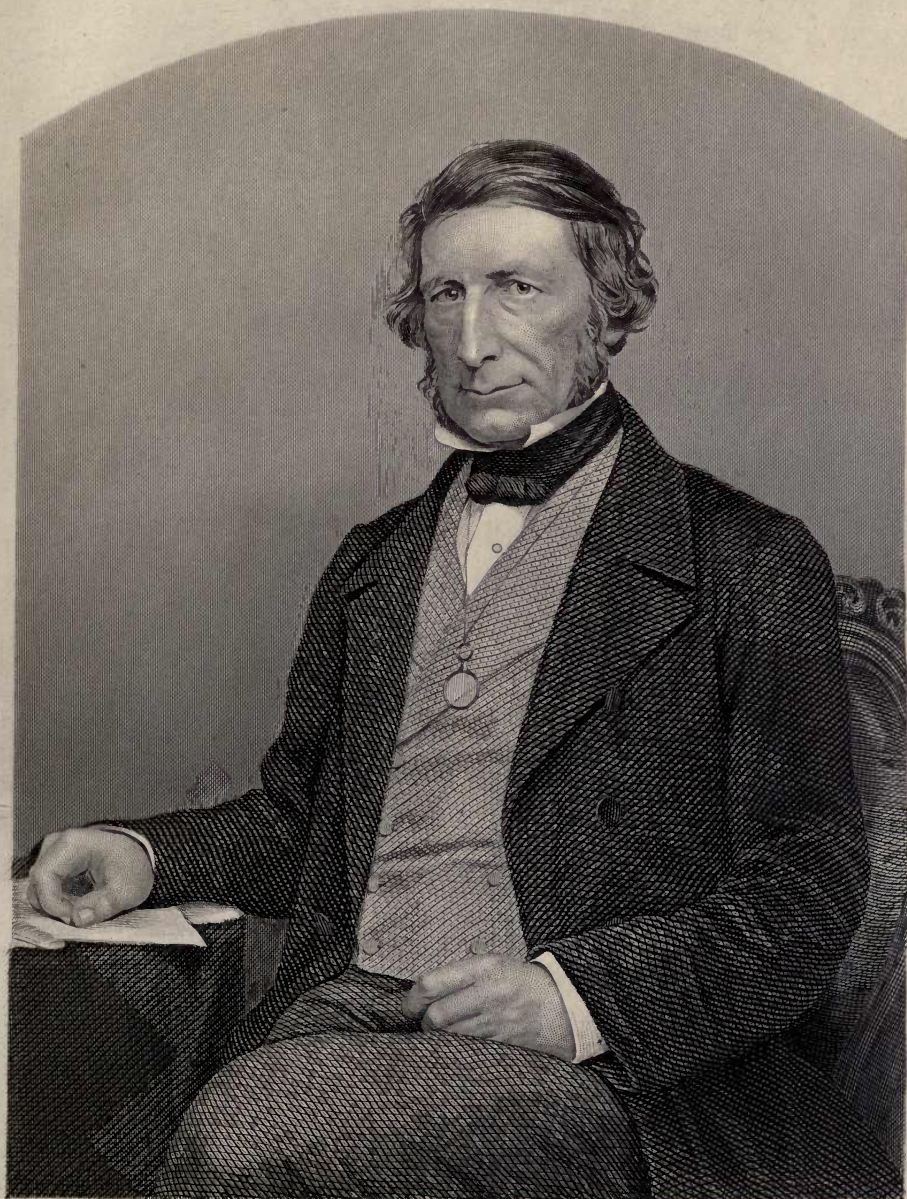












SIR GEORGE CORNEWALL LEWIS.

O.B. 1863.













LORD CAMPBELL.

O.B. 1861.







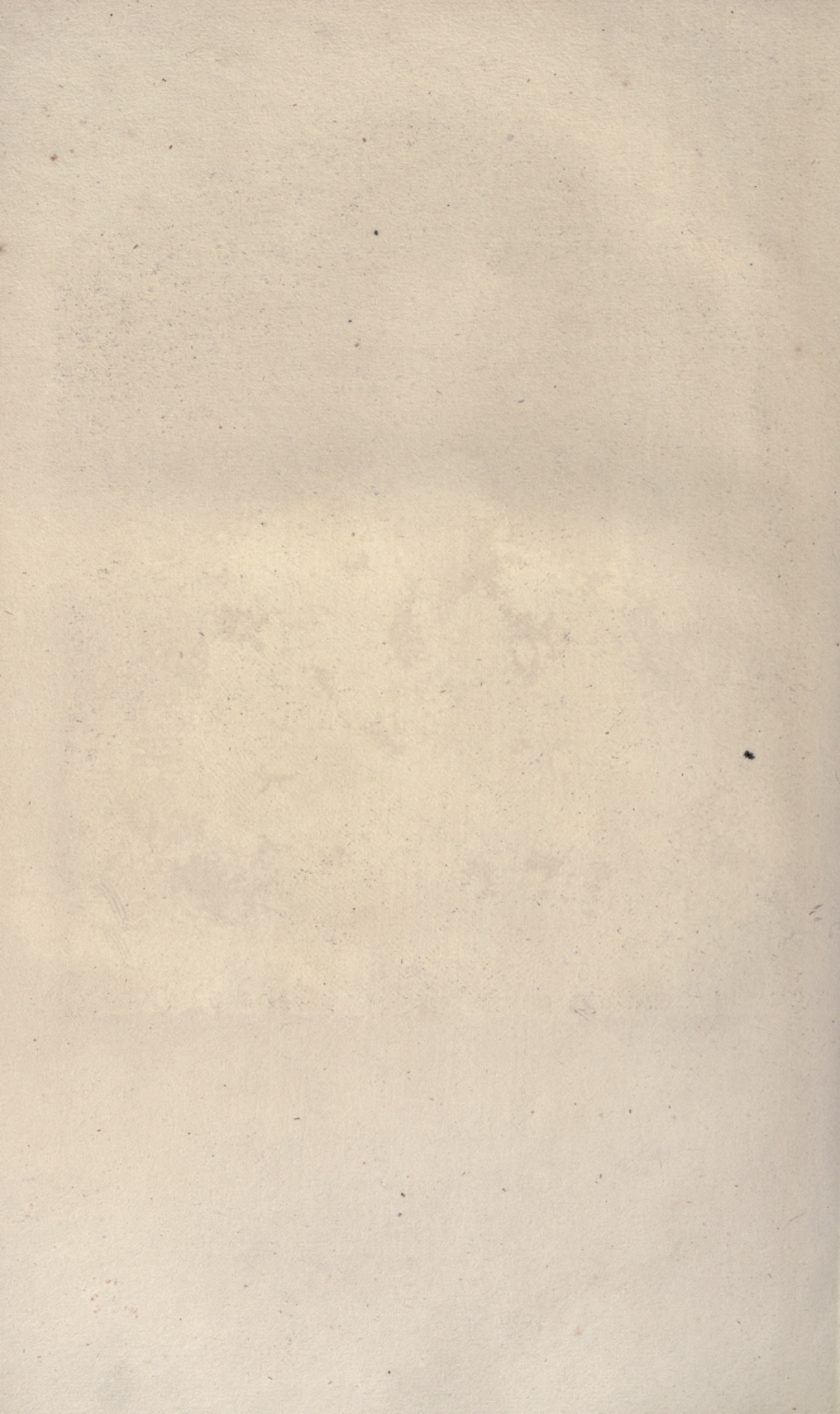






EDWARD BAINES.







though the general soon afterwards ordered that their swords should be restored to them. Meanwhile the surgeons examined and dressed the general's wounds. He bade them apply cold water to them, and all the time he smoked with great calmness and firmness. He asked whether an amputation was necessary?—in which case it should be done forthwith. The doctors assured him there was no occasion for such an operation. Garibaldi asked to see Pallavicino, who, twenty minutes later, came to him uncovered, and with every demonstration of respect. It was afterwards settled between the officers of both staffs, that the Garibaldian column should be disarmed, and placed under the escort of the royal troops. It was agreed that Garibaldi should be removed to Scylla, with as many of his officers as he wished to have with him, all of whom should retain their swords. The dead on both sides were very few; very few also the wounded. In corroboration of this assertion, I must state that the number of the wounded, on both sides, according to official tidings, does not exceed forty-eight.

"Towards evening the Garibaldians improvised a litter for the removal of their chief. After an hour's painful march, over rugged paths, they came to a hut where some wounded men had been laid. Garibaldi refused to abide there for the night. He wished to be taken to some other hut or hay-loft, where he might be alone. The journey in the dark, on so rough a road, must have caused great torture to the general; but he never uttered a complaint, nor a groan. They thus, after three hours' march, reached the hut of the Pastore Vincenzo, a spot well known to the heroes of the expedition of 1860. There, with straw and cloaks, they made up a bed, on which the general rested. 'The night was feebly lighted by the moon; great silence reigned over the country, only broken by the barking of the shepherds' dogs.' They prepared water for the hero's wounds; they gave him broth made of goat's flesh. It was midnight. At dawn they were up, constructing a more comfortable litter; at 6 A.M. they left for Scylla. When the sun rose they screened the hero by a laurel canopy. With the exception of a few halts of half-an-hour, they toiled down those dreary paths till 2 P.M., when they reached their destination.

"At Scylla, Garibaldi, who had asked Pallavicino to obtain for him leave to embark on board an English vessel, was informed that his request could not be complied with. The number of officers who were to accompany him was also reduced to ten. Garibaldi instantly embarked on board the *Duca di Genova*, which was ready for departure. The boats which conveyed him on board passed before the *Stella d'Italia*, on the deck of which were General Cialdini, Admiral Albini, and others. 'No salutation passed between the prisoner and his captors.' Two or three volunteers (orderlies), who had been allowed by Pallavicino for Garibaldi's personal service, were sent back by an order of Cialdini, conveyed through Albini; but the order was revoked, and the orderlies were suffered to accompany their chief. Garibaldi parted with his companions with the cry, '*A Roma! A Roma!*' The treatment of the prisoners on board the *Duca di Genova* was, by their own confession, 'most courteous and considerate.'

"I have thus given the *pro* and *con* of all I could collect respecting this melancholy affair. To readers who are able to compare notes with something like critical discernment, the real truth will shine forth with irresistible clearness. That Garibaldi wished to avoid an encounter, and Pallavicino had orders to seek it, appears very evident. The king's government felt the necessity of dealing a decisive blow, and ending a game which had been suffered to continue too long. For the rest, after the fight, both parties behaved with honour and moderation; and, bating exaggeration, neither of them has any reason for dissatisfaction."

Since the above was written, the report of General Cialdini on the engagement at Aspromonte, has been published in the *Turin Gazette*. The report states, that the instructions given to Colonel Pallavicino were, to pursue Garibaldi unremittingly if he sought to fly; to attack him if he offered battle, and to destroy his band. The official *Gazette* also publishes Colonel Pallavicino's report; according to

which his left attacked the volunteers in front, and, after a brisk fire, carried the position they occupied. The rebels were then surrounded on all sides, and ulterior resistance was useless. At this juncture they signalled the royal troops to stop firing, and Colonel Pallavicino sent an officer of the staff to summon Garibaldi to surrender. Garibaldi replied that he would never surrender. The staff-officer was made prisoner, as well as another envoy subsequently sent by Colonel Pallavicino. They were, however, afterwards released. Garibaldi requested to be allowed to embark on board an English vessel. Several volunteers, when questioned, said they knew nothing of the king's proclamation. Some believed that all had been arranged with the government; whilst others said that Garibaldi had deceived them. At Aspromonte three flags were found, inscribed with the words, 'Italy! Emmanuel!' but not bearing the cross of Savoy, nor having the blue riband attached. No documents nor money were found.

The *Movimento* of Genoa gives the following particulars as to the place in which Garibaldi was confined:—"The building, which contains six rooms, has no furniture whatever, with the exception of some mattresses stretched on the ground for the prisoners. Their kitchen contains no other articles than two magpies, which often hop over the whole house. The food is not bad, but it is served without any table-cloth. The general's chamber alone presents any appearance of furniture. It is not very large. The walls have been at one time covered with velvet paper, which now hangs down in shreds. There are two great cupboards, of wretched appearance, and painted yellow; four or five chairs; a little table, on which stands a brass candlestick, with a tallow candle; and the bed where Garibaldi is lying. 'This bed is worth notice. The mattress is of double thickness. There are four bolsters, but two are without cases.'" Ultimately Garibaldi was pardoned.

His friends in England sent him all that they could; and at length the ball in his ankle was extracted, after the failure of an English, by a celebrated French surgeon.

Nor was Garibaldi ungrateful. Whilst yet lying sad, wounded, and a captive, he thus addressed the English nation:—

"It is while under the double pressure of bodily and mental pain that man can most truly and most acutely appreciate good and evil, and, leaving the authors of his misery to eternal shame, devote unlimited affection and gratitude to his benefactors. And that to you, O people of England, I owe a heavy debt for benefits bestowed, I feel in the inmost recesses of my soul. You were my friends in prosperity, and now you continue the precious boon in the days of my adversity. May God reward you! And my gratitude is the more intense, O worthy people, inasmuch as, rising as it must do beyond the mere level of individual feeling, it becomes sublime in the general sentiment towards those nations whose progress you represent. Yes! you are deserving of the gratitude of the world, because you offer an asylum for misfortune, from whatever part it may come; and you identify yourselves with misery, pity it, and relieve it. The French or Neapolitan exile finds in your bosom shelter from his tyrant; he finds sympathy; he is helped, because an exile, because unhappy. The Haynaus—the hardened instruments of autocrats—find no rest in your liberal land, and fly terrified before the bitter scorn of your generous sons. And, in truth, without your noble bearing what would Europe be? Tyranny seizes its exiles in those other lands where virtue is unnatural, where liberty is a lie; but they are still safe on the sacred soil of Albion. I, like so many others, seeing the cause of justice trampled under foot in so many parts of the world, despaired of human progress. But, turning to you, my mind is calmed—calmed by the contemplation of your fearless progress towards that end to which the human race seems called by Providence. Proceed on your way, O calm, unconquered nation, and be less tardy in calling your sister peoples in the same path of human progress. Call the French nation to co-operate with you. You two are worthy to march hand-in-hand in the vanguard of social progress.



Yes, call her! In all your meetings let 'concord between the two great sisters' be your cry. Yes, call her! Call to her always, and in every manner—with your voice, and with the voice of her great exiles—of Victor Hugo, the high priest of human brotherhood. Tell her that conquest is, in this age, an anomaly—the emanation of an unsound mind. Why should we covet the lands of others, when all men should be as brethren? Yes, call her! And she, forgetting that she is temporarily under the dominion of the genius of evil—if not to-day, to-morrow; if not to-morrow, later—will reply as she ought to your generous and regenerating appeal. Call, and at once, the bold sons of Helvetia, and clasp them firmly to your breast! The warlike children of the Alps—the vestals of the sacred fire of liberty on the continent of Europe—they will be with you. What a host! Call the great American republic, for she is, in truth, your daughter, and is struggling now for the abolition of that slavery which you have already so nobly proclaimed. Help her to escape from the terrible strife waged against her by the traders in human flesh. Help her, and then place her by your side at the great assembly of nations—that final work of the human intellect. Call to your side all those people who would be free, and lose not an hour. The initiative, which belongs to you to-day, may to-morrow concern another. May God forbid such a calamity! Who ever more gallantly than France in '89 assumed that responsibility? At that solemn moment she held up 'reason' to the world, crushed tyranny, and consecrated free brotherhood. Now, after nearly a century, she is reduced to combat the liberty of nations, to protect tyranny, and over the altar of reason to erect the symbol of that wicked and immoral monstrosity which is called the papacy. Arise, then, Britannia, and at once! Arise with your undaunted brow, and point out to the peoples the path they must tread! With a congress of the world to decide between nations, war would be an impossibility. No longer would there exist those standing armies which make liberty impossible. What weapons! What defences! What engines of attack and defence! And then the millions squandered in implements of destruction would be employed in fomenting the industry and diminishing the misery of the human race. Begin, then, O people of England; and, for the love of God, initiate the vast human compact, and bestow this great gift on the present generation! Besides Switzerland and Belgium, you would see other nations, urged on by the good sense of the people, accept your invitation, and hasten to enrol themselves under your banner. Let London now be the seat of this congress, which shall be in future agreed on by a mutual compact of arrangement and convenience. Once more, God bless you! May He repay you for the benefits you have heaped so prodigally on me!—With gratitude and affection, yours,

“Varignano, Sept. 28.”

“GARIBALDI.

In England we were privileged, in 1864, to welcome the hero of Italian nationality. Never did king or emperor receive such an ovation. From the highest to the lowest, all conspired to do him honour. Never was there such a scene as when he entered London, and all its workmen turned out to meet him. Of course, he was presented with the freedom of the city. At the Crystal Palace the Italians in London welcomed him. When the last verse of the song composed in his honour—

“Hail! oh, leader, from darkness and sorrow  
 Fame hath woven a wreath for thy brow;  
 Bright be the dawning of Italy's morrow—  
 Dawn it shall, for the herald art thou.  
 O Garibaldi! true and noble heart,  
 Lead on, we are thine  
 Until our latest breath;  
 From hearths, and homes, and loved ones we depart,  
 To battle, to glory, to death!”

Was sung, no words can describe the scene which took place. The principal vocalists turned towards the balcony which contained Garibaldi, and with

every gesture and look of which the impassioned Italian frame is capable, signified their enthusiastic concurrence in the sentiments, to the utterance of which they lent every power with which nature had gifted them. The choir and orchestra, inspired by the fervent action of their excellent conductor, who, with his national colours tastefully displayed upon his breast, threw himself with all the ardour of a loving compatriot into his work, seconded their efforts nobly; and thus a chorus was produced, such as can never be forgotten by the least susceptible individual who was privileged to hear the strain, and see under what circumstances it was sung. At the first line of the refrain, "O Garibaldi nostro, salvatore," the audience, moved by one impulse, rose up, and remained standing, turned towards the Italian hero, during the remainder of the piece. When all was ended, the voice of the multitude found scope; and men and women, artists and conductor, laid down their respective functions to join in one overpowering demonstration of enthusiastic devotion to the serene-looking and noble man, who looked down in a sort of glad, yet quiet wonder, too great to be confused by this tumultuous homage; and replied better by his sympathetic eyes, moved lips, and very simple gestures, than by any amount of actions, such as are associated with heroes of a similar kind. The chorus of *Ernani* was made to do homage to the general by the words "A Garibaldi gloria" being substituted for the name of Charles the Fifth; and this was followed by the English national anthem, the solo verse of which was finely sung by Mademoiselle Fricci. Then followed a well-merited cheer for Arditì, and many more for Garibaldi and Menotti, whose departure from their gallery terminated the concert.

At the close of the proceedings swords were presented to Garibaldi and his son, by the Italians resident in London. Garibaldi received his sword with the words—"I thank you, Italians, for this beautiful present. I promise you I will never unsheathe it in the cause of tyrants, and will draw it only in support of oppressed nationalities. I hope yet to carry it with me to Rome and to Venice." Other presentations were made, and other addresses offered; after which the general and his party returned to London. On his way back from the Crystal Palace, the general paid a visit to the Duke of Somerset, at his official residence at the Admiralty. In the evening he dined with Lord and Lady Palmerston, at Cambridge House.

In the midst of all this popularity, the public were thunderstruck by hearing Garibaldi was suddenly to leave England. The explanation, believed in many places, was, that he was sent away in consequence of an intimation from high quarters that his presence here was a cause of embarrassment between England and France. The public said Garibaldi never was in better health; that Mr. Gladstone was deputed to give Garibaldi the hint; and that the whole affair was a disgraceful truckling to the French emperor. The official statement of the Premier, of course, denied this; but more than one smile was seen on many an M.P.'s face while Lord Palmerston gravely assured the House of Commons, that, so far from the French emperor's being hurt by the reception afforded to Garibaldi, on the contrary, he had expressed to the Earl of Clarendon his delight at it. The writer of this may be excused for being sceptical on this point, as the last time he was at Paris, the orders were that no portraits of Garibaldi were to be exposed for sale. But the real truth is, Garibaldi's health was suffering. The excitement and the change of living were too much for him. On Monday night, after the general's return from the Crystal Palace, he was so confused that he could not recollect whether he had been to the Crystal Palace once or twice. Rest, therefore, he required; but why not rest in England? And then he might have visited the great towns which had such strong claims on his presence. In the meanwhile, let it be said that every one was delighted with him, and that, in his foreign English, he has pretty well made a clean breast of it politically. He was understood to prefer Mr. Russell (as he calls him) to Mr. Palmerston; the latter aged statesman he considered to be far too friendly with the French emperor; and we need not add that Louis Napoleon, many



as are his admirers, cannot class Garibaldi amongst the number. Indeed, we may go so far as to say, if the loving and tender-hearted Garibaldi hates any one on the face of the earth, it is the French emperor. And no wonder. It is owing to him Garibaldi was driven from Rome, that he was struck down at Aspromonte, and that even his Italian nationality has been taken from him. No wonder Garibaldi cordially dislikes the French emperor. The simple soldier and the wily intriguer have nothing, and can have nothing, in common. What fellowship hath light with darkness? was asked in old time.

For years to come the Italian question will occupy men's minds. In our days we have seen it presented in a wonderfully changed aspect to the world. For ages the fairest portion of the surface of Europe was trodden under foot by the despot and the priest. In vain were revolutions attempted—in vain did patriots die—the hour of the regeneration of Italy had not yet come. In our day we have seen the first grand movement in that direction. Italy, aided by France, resolved to shake off the Austrian yoke. Undoubtedly she has gone further and faster than France intended; and the result is that, with the exception of Rome, Italy is free. The question now is, is she worthy of this freedom—can she maintain it? The Italian revolution, mixed as it is, like all human things, with elements base and ignoble, and somewhat barren in the production of those great men whom lesser convulsions have rarely failed to draw forth, is yet assuredly, judged in all soberness, one of the grandest events in modern history. It is no sudden gust of national passion impetuously overturning the thrones of the past, but a slowly elaborated achievement, wrought out with immense sacrifice—sacrifice not only of lives and gold such as every revolution claims, but of provincial and national interests and prejudices, which are the last things usually abjured in such convulsions. It is not an outbreak of fanaticism either religious or political, the work of men disgusted by the falsehood of one system, and blindly rushing at its opposite. Rather with regret do we see the Italian Catholic caring so little to cast down the idols of his church, and rejoice to find the Italian citizen content to replace political despotism by a constitutional monarchy, and not by any more democratic system, for whose enjoyment he is yet untrained. Lastly, it is not a revolution of a single class of the population—a cabal of nobles, or a rebellion of the middle ranks, or a riot of the mob—nor yet is it the work of a great capital city deciding by itself the cause of the whole country, as Paris has so often presumed to do for France. Never, perhaps, in any history has a revolution been so completely the reverse of all this. Italy is being very rapidly regenerated. Railways have been developed, and the common roads of the country have been vastly improved, especially in Naples and Sicily. Before the annexation of the other provinces, Piedmont was vastly in advance of the rest of Italy in education. One in ten out of the entire population attended the schools; while, in Naples, not one in ninety did so; and, in Sicily, out of the female population, even at present, not one in two hundred. The first care of the government has been to reform the system of education, to open schools both for boys and girls in every commune, and to train fitting teachers. The army of Italy now consists of 400,000—a terrible, but at present a necessary, expense. Important changes are taking place in the administration of justice. Nor is this a small matter when we remember, as Miss Cobbe tells us, that in the provinces which formerly owned the sway of the successor of St. Peter, or of Bomba and Bombalino, no safeguard of persons or property, no trial by jury, no *habeas corpus*, no coroners' inquests existed. Every judge almost had bought his office by a bribe, and used it with every venal trick. Another good sign is to be found in the fact that Italy is beginning to read. Of anything to be called a national literature, there is, says Miss Cobbe, as yet no sign; but newspapers are increasing; and, in time, the people will read. Of course, there is a reactionary party, consisting of the old nobility and the priests; but the former are losing their temporal influence, and the latter are now mainly recruited from the lower strata of society.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### PALMERSTON AGAIN PREMIER.

IN 1859, the Tories have appealed to the country: the verdict has been against them—they resign.

Lord Palmerston is again at the head of affairs. In a work published this year—*Chiefs of Parties*—we find the following sketch of his lordship—a sketch which, at the time, represented pretty fairly the opinion of the sensible and well-informed:—

“In his system of managing the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel was called a great parliamentary middle-man. Irish society also supplies the illustration most apt for Lord Palmerston’s foreign policy. He was the *Captain Rock* of Europe. The desultory fierceness and wordy arrogance of Lord Palmerston’s diplomacy, imitated, on a vast scale, the minacious lawlessness of agrarian outrage in Ireland.

“His rage for meddling with the affairs of small communities was of the most singular kind. A petty territory—whose name is probably omitted by some of the gazetteers, and whose frontiers have the same proportions to European demarcations as the borders of a Kidderminster carpet to the boundaries of England—could not go right unless its internal affairs were supervised and regulated from our too famous ‘F.O.’ in Downing Street. We had to conquer Brobdignag, and we had also to dwarf our minds to the backstairs intrigue of each atom of the Liliputian confederation. Our diplomacy, under Lord Palmerston’s auspices, was becoming ludicrous. Its machinery was applied to the arrangement of trifles beneath contempt. Village scandals were exaggerated into diplomatic questions of momentous importance. Somebody in some place pulled another by the nose, and their respective nations had recourse to protocols. The most contemptible squabbles were brought before the cabinet of the British empire. Under no other Prime Minister was there so much personal acrimony, such envenomed bitterness, such constant spleen about trifles, as under Lord Palmerston.

“There was scarcely a country in the world where we were not involved in a diplomatic entanglement about some ridiculous trifle entirely beneath the statesmanship of a great empire. In Greece a minister insisted on introducing to the Court a lady of doubtful reputation. The queen resisted. Then came a ministerial crisis, and all our diplomacy was set to work. Could anything be more ridiculous than our interference in such petty Court scandals at the other end of Europe? If Mayfair was gossiping for a week about the tattle of the Orkneys and the Hebrides, or if the Secretary of State for the Home Department were called on to aid in a case of female small-talk about what Mrs. Honour said about Mrs. Abigail, we should all laugh.

“At Tuscany, a squabble about an *attaché* of the Sardinian legation was magnified into a mighty affair, as if it were as serious as some of the causes of quarrel between Charles V. and Francis I. And then, crossing the Atlantic, our foreign office busybodies were all in a hurry, on account of some despicable filibustering expedition. The steam had to be got up to an armada panic temperature. Immense events were looming in the distance: when, lo! two or three suspicious-looking crafts are seen, hull down, on the horizon; our West Indian fleet gives chase. ‘England expects that every’—little midddy should have a laugh at the big-wigs; and the farce ends—not in another Trafalgar, but after the plan of battle in the *Critic*:—‘The Yankee fleet I cannot see, because ’tis not in sight.’

“Lord Palmerston, in his mode of treating foreign affairs, had a strange talent



for nursing a whitlow into a wen. His political habit was so inflammatory, so constitutionally excitable, that the prick of a pin was a grave wound in his case. To exaggerate trifling grounds of irritation into serious causes of anger was a fatal and foolish policy. 'This country cannot afford little wars,' said Wellington: nor can it. The consequences of this mania for meddling are ruinous, and also ridiculous. A busybody is always mischievous to himself, while the cause of mirth to his neighbours. Dramatists and novelists, in all ages, have delighted in painting the character of one who minds everybody's business but his own. The character has a popular relish, because it is so readily recognised. John Bull was playing it, before the world under Lord Palmerston's management. Foreigners took his 'F. O.' in Downing Street as a contraction for *Figaro*, the cypher letters which supplied the key to his foreign policy. His system was discredited from the most opposite quarters. The Duke of Wellington opposed it; so did Sir Robert Peel and the Earl of Aberdeen, and Earl Grey and Sir William Molesworth, and Mr. Cobden; and last, and not least, for twenty years the *Times* denounced it with great energy and ability.

"No change in a melodrama could be more startling than that by which Lord Palmerston was converted into being the chief of the Liberal party, and the leader of the House of Commons. On the domestic question he had always been neutral. His relationship to his colleagues in the Melbourne Whigs and the Bedford Whigs, was just as if he and they had shaken hands upon an agreement. 'So that you allow me to dictate to Christendom as I like, you may pull and drag Old England to pieces if you please. I will not meddle with you, and leave me alone.' In point of fact, several of his Whig colleagues were not competent to check him.

"When Lord Aberdeen fell, the position of Lord Palmerston was powerful. He stood well with the Tories. Society had always said, 'There's a great deal of Toryism in Lord Palmerston.' He had some ephemeral and flying popularity with the plebeian politicians, who are inspired by the licensed victuallers; and in London he was vastly popular. He knew everybody worth knowing, and he was ready to receive anybody who had anything to tell that was worth hearing. His mansion was the resort of a strange congress. The clubs often stared at the names of his guests; and even the House of Commons wondered how his bitterest and most envenomed assailants on the Monday, enjoyed his hospitality on the next Saturday. Cambridge House and its witcheries produced great effect. Lord Palmerston had so many personal and social resources, that he felt quite confident, when the patronage of the Treasury was placed at his disposal, that he could get any amount of popularity that he would require.

"So he could, and so he did. It rained panegyrics for a twelvemonth. He was described insidiously as a second Chatham. The ears of the town were stunned with the clatter of his admirers: their reasoning was the logic of defiance; their rhetoric was the tautology of boast. Amidst their vaunting verbiage was a vehement chuckle, which occasionally rose into a stormy self-approbation, that showed Master Æolus was still puffing away—

" 'Milla se jactet in aula  
Æolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.'

"But though he could obtain the noisy and fictitious counterfeit for a real popularity, my Lord Proteus could not secure the confidence of a party; for his triumph was only for the hour. As a party chief, and as a leader of the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston decidedly failed, and failed ludicrously. \* \* \* \* Experience failed him in his post. His tone and conduct in the leadership of the Commons were utterly unworthy of the place and the audience, and were most unsuitable to one with the ambiguous antecedents of the noble lord. Never did any of his lordship's predecessors so entangle themselves with adversaries, and descend to 'ribald ridicule.' His tone was not only unbecoming a man of his rank and station, but it was *maladroït* in an assembly where the noble lord had

some superiors, and several equals, on the score either of birth, or of fortune, or eloquence, or lofty intellect. It was the first time that parliament had seen the spectacle of a blustering leader of the House of Commons. Lord North was often familiar, but never vulgar; if he was too often witty on grave questions, Lord North was neither offensive nor coarse. His delightful temper has been commemorated by the most brilliant of his adversaries. It may be doubted whether, in the orations of Burke, Fox, and Barré, against Lord North, there was so galling a passage as that withering invective hurled by Mr. Bright against the 'official personage' who sat on those treasury benches some years before he (Mr. Bright) was born. Lord Palmerston, we surmise, does not yet forget the vivid contrast drawn by Mr. Bright between the leadership of Sir Robert Peel, Lord J. Russell, and Mr. Disraeli—who left no stain on that distinguished post—and the style assumed by Lord Palmerston himself. If the Premier forgets Mr. Bright, others do not. The House cheered that speech vehemently.

"But it was droll to witness the jovial tone in which the Prime Minister laughed at the public, and both houses of parliament, and even himself! He took them all in as regularly as the newspapers; he played upon them all round with unparalleled hilarity; winked to confederates in his secrets (if not in his cabinet); gave the artful leer of invitation to some of his confiding dupes; and then, after chuckling over some decoyed Benthamite, he put on a sentimental face, while he heaved a sigh over some ruined Whig reputation! The rollicking air with which he performed his cajollery was quite wonderful in its way; and he never seemed more astonishing than when, with a grimace on his face, he encountered a British public in its gloomiest mood. For the growls of John Bull, the comic Premier had his wallet of small pleasantries of an excruciating kind. But his prodigious performances in luring the Radicals into supposing him to be playing their game, while he was really aiding to put us back to Tory times, was far more ludicrous than his best joke.

"It was this singular position of Lord Palmerston that explained the qualified support given him by some of the Conservatives. They found it hard to take part against a gay old Tory of the oldest school disguising himself as a Liberal, and hoaxing the Reform Club.

"As a matter of sentiment, many Conservatives refused to deal roughly with one whom they regarded as a sort of parliamentary grandpapa. They forgave the irregularity of his political conduct. They did not fire upon a craft which belonged to their own squadron, though for the time it hoisted false colours. Severer courses would have been warranted towards him; but it would have been waste of what Canning called 'that valuable commodity, indignation,' to lavish any of it upon a cabinet minister in a cap and bells. A solemn lecture, richly deserved, would have convulsed the jolly Premier.

"He was taken at his word, and looked at as a great parliamentary *quiz*—making game of everything. His elevation was traceable to the rout of the Peelites, the fall of Lord John Russell, and the dearth of talent amongst the independent Liberals. With great connections, and experience without parallel, it took our 'Brummagem Alcibiades' fifty years to climb into the Premiership, though Mr. Perceval, Lord Liverpool, and several more statesmen under whom he served, gained that distinction with few of his personal advantages.

"Yet it cannot be denied that the *vis comica* of his political career was well kept up. His capacity for pastime was incessant. If thorough-going jollity could pilot the state vessel, the helm should never have been taken from the rollicking Premier. The jesting way in which he encountered a difficulty, and succumbed under it without a pang of self-reproach, was a rare sight. The joyousness with which he offered his hand to friends and foes, treating them all alike, with the same impartial jocularly, and the sportive ease with which he played with principles, was amusing as a piece of character. But Lord Palmerston, at that time, wearied the House of Commons. He lost its respect,



and it rose against him. His elevation to the pinnacle of power made him grow giddy, and he affected to be a dictator. His wit was not brilliant enough, or his eloquence so dazzling, as to hide the egregious errors of his department when he assumed the part of a low angry wag. He had never been a party man; he had coquetted with all connections; and it seemed rather absurd to take up the obsolete name of a Canningite after the Reform Bill had been carried. It was curious that he exhibited some of the worst traits of Mr. Canning. \* \* \* \* Though he did not succeed as chief of a party, or as leader of the House of Commons, Viscount Palmerston was nearly the greatest personal success in the politics of his age. \* \* \* \* For a season, during his culmination, Cambridge House, in the eyes of Europe, was 'No. 1, London;' and its occupant might be fancied as looking down, from the Piccadilly highlands, upon the Stafford House Whigs, the houses of parliament, and even upon a grander and more august abode. It was a dictatorship, fast but fleeting. The *entourage* of his domestic circle was unrivalled. With Almack's, with Exeter Hall, with the Irish Orangemen, with the Reform Club, with invisible factors of public opinion, he had special relations. He had fortune, and fashion, and fame; he stooped to conquer; and it was wonderful that he was not stifled under the cloud of incense which rose up before him. Walpole and Pitt were not intoxicated by the giddy height, where they stood so long; and Lord Palmerston, from the sudden elevation, might be pardoned for losing his steadiness. The Duke of Portland died at seventy years of age; and it was with him that Lord Palmerston commenced his career; and, since the revolution, Lord Palmerston was our oldest Prime Minister.

"The sight of so much vigour with so much age—of seventy winters carried with buoyant and elastic ease after a life of hard toil and excitement—was dazzling to behold. His mind was fresh and vivid; his tongue keen, trenchant, and vivacious; his temper did not corrode, though he became dictatorially contumelious; neither was he retrospective or servile in his conversation, like some of his colleagues and companions. In the morning, with a playful and extremely arch speech, the gay viscount would make a bevy of bridesmaids titter; in the afternoon he would quietly arrange his thunderbolts, for the battering of some second-rate powers; and, in the evening, he was ready to Hector a House of Commons, and, with a bold front, to browbeat a bench of provincial tribunes. He forgot himself at last. His pretensions were great, but those of the House of Commons were greater still. He spoke and lorded it in his own time; but the Commons rose in the name of England. They had amongst them patrician families, whose bloodsprings had been running for centuries before the Temples were chronicled in story; and the gentlemen of England, with pedigrees prouder than their oldest oaks, would not tolerate being treated as if they were so many shopkeepers or Marylebone vestrymen. The House of Commons spurned him; and it was right that the lesson should be given him: but it was a terrible lesson, and a tremendous fall. Another man would have been mortified at such humiliation; but Lord Palmerston did not feel it: and it is the worst thing that can be said of him. His fatal fault was, in not being able to distinguish between true and false public opinion. It is sincerely to be lamented that, at the beginning of 1858, he lost such an opportunity of consolidating and purifying his reputation. He broke down when he had to mediate between the people of England and the passing wrath of the Emperor of the French. Where, then, were his defiance and his menacing self-confidence? Where, then, was the nerve of the modern Chatham? He clouded the character of his diplomatic system, and authenticated the censure of those who had condemned his policy, as consisting only of the commonplace acts of wordy insolence and dexterous subservience. When pitted against a formidable antagonist, he failed; and it was lamentable that it should have been before a Bonaparte that the tone of England should have faltered, and the reputation of Lord Palmerston crumbled. It was under its noisiest vindicator that the honour of Britain was, for a time, gravely compromised. But the subject is too painful to dwell upon."

Such was the opinion held by many, as they saw Lord Palmerston, in 1859, again return to power.

Let us take another portrait. In the *Russian Sketches*, written at this time, Mr. Sutherland Edwards observes—"It may be remarked that, in or out of office, Lord Palmerston is always the representative of England. The Russians, one way or another, evidently think a great deal of him. They tell the strangest anecdotes about him; and have paid him the compliment of bestowing his name on a fashionable great-coat. Mr. Urquhart, who proves regularly every week, in a paper by no means generally known, that Lord Palmerston has been, for years past, nothing but an *employé* of the Russian government, would be astonished to find how little that minister's services are appreciated in Russia itself, where the noble lord is perpetually abused by all classes of the community, as the special enemy of Russia, and as an intriguer, whose machinations may, at any moment, involve Europe in a fresh war. This is not merely the pretended belief of the military; it is the firm conviction of the mercantile classes, who, in Russia, as in every other country, are in favour of peace at any price." At the time of the Crimean war, a caricature appeared in St. Petersburg, representing Lord Palmerston pointing to the map of Russia, and bullying the sultan: Louis Napoleon is standing behind, and flourishing a sword evidently much too big for him; the sultan seems at a loss what to do; while a Russian soldier, keeping quite aloof, wears a portentous frown, as if to indicate that he must interfere. The verses accompanying Mr. Edwards translates as follows:—

'Tis Palmerston the warlike!  
 With diplomatic skill  
 He conquers Russia on the map,  
 According to his will.  
 Fired by the martial prowess  
 Of the ever-daring lord,  
 'Allons, Courage!' cries the Frenchman,  
 Waving high his uncle's sword."

In Russia, as elsewhere, Lord Palmerston was considered the evil genius of Europe. At dinners at Damascus, Mr. Disraeli makes an Eastern emir pettishly exclaim—"I cannot endure this eternal chatter about Palmerston. Are there no other statesmen in the world besides Palmerston?" Even on the other side of the Atlantic, his influence was felt. He was at the bottom of all the American intrigues; and if things went wrong in the great republic of the west, it was Palmerston's fault. We read, in an American paper, that the mad act of Brown and his deluded followers at Harper's Ferry, was all owing to Lord Palmerston. We shall see that, with his lordship a second time Premier, abroad he is equally susceptible of affront; but at home he has learnt a wiser policy. He ceases to Hector the House of Commons. They trust him: he treats them with respect. But his chief successes are due to the fact, that Mr. Gladstone is Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In 1859, Mr. Gladstone attained that elevated rank in statesmanship which, at the time at which we write, has made him the most popular and powerful of living men.

Mr. Gladstone's peculiarity is, that he works better in office than out of it. In 1859, people were still afraid of him, as metaphysical and crotchety. The criticism of that day implies that he lacked directness. "His understanding," says one, "is rapid in apprehension, powerful in retention, and versatile in capacity. There is scarcely one of the sciences in which he could not with facility become a proficient. Vigorous and plastic, and with all his faculties under the ready command of its owner, his intellect would be enviable but for defects which will always cause doubts as to the soundness of his conclusions. He is too precipitate in theorising; too subtle and overstrained in his inductions; and he places too much credence in the philosophic potentiality of the logic of the schools. These are blemishes which seriously detract from the moral weight of his assem-



blage of brilliant faculties, as an administrator, an orator, and a writer. \* \* \* Apparently taking pleasure in puzzling others, Mr. Gladstone often bewildered himself. A jury of M.P.'s, selected impartially, would find it impossible to return a verdict as to his creed. He has been a Tory upon the turn, a Liberal of a loose sort, and a Christian in a state of chrysalis. What his next development might be would defy the computation of the most scientific observer. As yet he has never been a Whig; and his ingenious intellect would find it difficult to weave a creed for the families. To drag parliament into a labyrinth, of which he alone should possess the logical clue, that he might enjoy the confused crowd asking for deliverance from his aid, would seem to be his mission. He asks the House to weigh a series of scruples with him, but gives it nothing to weigh them with; and he enjoys the sight of honourable members tantalised, while he refreshes himself conscientiously."

Mr. Gladstone, in 1859, is accepted as "a brilliant representative of that class of the community who derive their wealth from commerce, and their prejudices from the universities. His social and political vitality are already much affected by his Liverpool origin, and his Oxford training. We see the marks of his non-aristocratic origin in his freedom from traditional party spirit. His mind, unlike that of Lord Macaulay, has no partly natural, partly acquired deference of a sentimental kind to the great families of England. To his intellect, the territorial constitution, panegyrised by Mr. Disraeli, must appear as absurd as his own *Oxford Logic* and *State Conscience* to the author of *Vivian Grey*. We rather miss the historical elements in his parliamentary speeches. Of national antecedents he seems to take comparatively little notice; and he tries to solve difficult social subjects with the elaborate apparatus of a logic less perspicuous than, and almost as abstract as, the arguments of the late Sir W. Grant. His speeches have none of that racy English idiom, that homeliness without coarseness, that happy mixture of pithy sense and popular frank manner, which are almost classical in parliament. There is in them too much of the academical arts of persuasion—too great a parade of logic, inducing the suspicion of undetected sophistry. Yet the power displayed when upon his legs, and at a pressing emergency, by Mr. Gladstone is admirable. The ease and supple adroitness which he manifests are dazzling in themselves, and, as gladiatorial feats, evoke the admiration of the senate. Proficient in the mechanical parts of an orator, with perfect command of language, no *extempore* speaker in parliament excels Mr. Gladstone in the finished style and logical arrangements, even of his unprepared speeches."

Mr. D. Maddyn—for it is to him we refer—continues—"One of Mr. Gladstone's finest displays of talent was in the debate in which Lord Derby's cabinet, in 1852, fell from office. On that occasion, the concluding night of the discussion was occupied nearly altogether by Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone; and those who were present will not forget the displays of eloquence made, worthy of the proudest days of parliament. Mr. Disraeli confessedly made an extraordinary *tour de force*, under very trying circumstances, calculated to depress and dishearten an orator. Jaded with excessive fatigue from being the main man of business in his party; with an unexpected coalition of hostile parties in his front; personally assailed by a host of adversaries, and representing a sectional and then defeated cause, the member for Bucks stood up to the last encounter with desperate energy, and fought for his flag with those dauntless qualities which always obtain admiration from a large audience of Englishmen. Scalping his assailants right and left; bearding, with unfaltering nerve, his coalesced and triumphing opponents, he denounced their projects, and criticised some of the antecedents of some of his political censors with galling severity. Exulting in his command of language, he met bitter taunts by thundering invectives. In a vehement and fiery style of rhetoric rarely heard now-a-days, he poured forth a flood of incriminating rhetoric; and, with buoyant self-reliance, appealed to the prejudices of his partisans, and lashed their passions. The circumstances of the crisis, and the speaker's

eloquence, made this one of the most effective oratorical displays heard within the walls of parliament in modern times. It was the stag at bay, and fighting under the smart of his ministerial death-wounds. To reply to such a speech required talents of a rare order. It was two hours past midnight, and the House was eager to divide. If the orator who had just sat down had spoken under circumstances calculated to dishearten, the orator who had arisen had the difficulties to contend with of an audience at once excited and jaded, and the advanced period of the debate. Disregarding the signs of impatience in his hearers, Mr. Gladstone rapidly and artfully wound himself into the ear of the Commons. Roused, himself, by the great effort of his adversary, he strained his powers to the uttermost, and became grand with natural passion. For two hours he enchained the attention of that audience; and, with masterly art, he vindicated the policy of free trade, and inveighed against the protectionists. Nor was there any other debater than Mr. Gladstone who possessed the union of financial knowledge, readiness of logic, and rare parliamentary eloquence requisite for replying to Mr. Disraeli on that eventful night. This was the greatest success, as a speaker, ever attained by him, and was in itself enough to stamp his name in the annals of parliament."

In the upper House, as Lord Chancellor, the Premier has the assistance of Lord Campbell, who received the rudiments of his education at the unpretending grammar-school of his native town, of which his father was the clergyman; whence he removed, at a comparatively early age, to enter as a student at the university of St. Andrew's, where the Rev. George Hill, afterwards principal of St. Mary's College, was his tutor. After taking his degree of Master of Arts at his university, he, fortunately for himself, decided to repair to London to try his fortune at the English bar. In the year he attained his majority he came to the great metropolis, and entered his name among the students of Lincoln's Inn. He was called to the bar in Michaelmas Term, 1806. It will not be out of place to remark, that while a student of Lincoln's Inn, he, with an honourable desire of independence, acted as one of the parliamentary reporters on the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper. In 1817, he was made king's counsel; in 1830, he entered the House of Commons as M.P. for Stafford. He was made Solicitor-general in 1832, by Earl Grey; and in 1834 he became Attorney-general. In 1841, he was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland by Viscount Melbourne. It was only a short time before he proceeded to Dublin, that he made his great forensic speech for the defendant in the celebrated case of "*Norton v. Lord Melbourne*." On the return of the Whig party to office in June, 1846, after the resignation of the late Sir Robert Peel, Lord Campbell joined the cabinet, and was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in the succeeding month. In 1850, his lordship was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, which became vacant on the death of Lord Denman. He held that high legal and judicial post until Lord Palmerston's accession to the head of the government in 1859, when he selected Lord Campbell to fill the distinguished office of Lord Chancellor—an appointment which gave general satisfaction. His lordship was something more even than a great lawyer. As a literary man, he had acquired some reputation. His *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*, and his *Lives of the Chief Justices of England*, are well and widely known.

His lordship married, September 8th, 1821, Miss Mary Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir James Scarlett (afterwards Lord Abinger); by whom (who was created Baroness Stratheden in 1836) he left issue three sons and four daughters—namely, William Frederick, Lord Stratheden; the Hon. Hallyburton and the Hon. Dudley Campbell; the Hon. Louisa, married to the Rev. W. S. White; the Hon. Mary, the Hon. Cecilia, and the Hon. Edina.

The Lord Chancellor ranks, after the princes of the blood-royal, as the first lay subject. Anciently the office was conferred upon some dignified clergyman. He is the reputed keeper of the sovereign's conscience. Amongst the great prerogatives of his office, he has the power to judge according to equity, con-



science, and reason, when he finds the law of the land so defective that the subject would be injured thereby. If a person be illegally imprisoned during the vacation, he has power to grant a *habeas corpus*, and do him justice according to law; the Queen's Bench and Common Pleas not being competent to grant such writ but in term time. His patronage is great, as he has the power to collate to all ecclesiastical livings in the gift of the crown.

In the House of Commons, the Attorney-general is Sir. R. Bethell—next to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Palmerston's most valuable ally.

Lord Westbury, the late distinguished chancery advocate, and first law officer of the crown in the administrations of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston, is a native of the town of Bradford, in Wiltshire, where he was born on the 30th of June, 1800.

He is descended from an ancient Welsh family of the name of "Ap Ithel." His father, Dr. Bethell, was a physician, residing in Bristol, and afterwards in London. This gentleman enjoyed the reputation of being exceedingly skilful in his profession: he was a man of education and considerable mental powers, who had little or nothing to depend upon but his medical practice. He devoted himself earnestly to the education of his son Richard, the subject of the present sketch, who invariably attributes whatever success he has had in life to his father's attention to his education, and to the care and skill with which that gentleman formed and disciplined his mind from his earliest years.

The subject of our sketch was brought up in Bristol, where his early education was conducted at a grammar-school. The school was given up just before he attained the age of thirteen, when he returned home, and remained for a short time, still pursuing his studies under the care of his father. As soon as he was fourteen years of age, his father determined to send him to the University of Oxford, where he at once proceeded, and presented himself for admission into Wadham College. This was in the month of October, 1814. After some demur by the authorities on account of his extreme youth, the boy was permitted to matriculate, and began to reside as a commoner. A scholarship at Wadham College was the subject of a competitive examination in June, 1815; and it is a noteworthy fact, that although there were many candidates, and consequently a severe contest, young Bethell, in spite of his extreme youth, was fortunate enough to obtain it, and to be elected scholar on the day he was fifteen. To this scholarship the college added an exhibition for proficiency in Greek; and these emoluments enabled the young student to take his degree of Bachelor of Arts with comparatively little assistance from his father. He was examined for his degree in April, 1818, before he had reached the eighteenth year of his age, when he obtained a first class in classics, and a second class in mathematics. Mr. Bethell continued to reside in the university, wholly maintaining himself by private pupils, until he obtained a fellowship in the year 1822. He then came to London, having some time previously entered as a student at the Middle Temple, and began a diligent course of study for the profession of which he is now so distinguished an ornament. He was called to the bar by the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, in November, 1823; immediately after which he began to practise in the courts of equity. His success was unusually rapid. One circumstance which brought his name into particular notice may be mentioned, to show that no one can tell the benefit that may result in future life from some distinction gained in the early part of it. When Richard Bethell was examined for his degree at Oxford, in 1818, Dr. Gilbert, now Bishop of Chichester, was one of the public examiners, and subsequently became the principal of Brazenose College, in that city. Shortly after Mr. Bethell was called to the bar, a suit in chancery was commenced by the late Lord Suffield against the college, which involved matters of great importance, not only to that establishment, but to all the colleges in Oxford founded before the accession of William III. Dr. Gilbert appointed Mr. Bethell, though a young and inexperienced practitioner at the bar, counsel for the college; and gave, as a reason for it,

the favourable impression made upon him by Mr. Bethell's public examination. An adverse decision would have seriously affected the interests of the college, in consequence of which several very eminent counsel advised a compromise of the suit. But Mr. Bethell strongly recommended the opposite policy; he encouraged the representatives of the college to resist the action, which was accordingly brought into court, and was finally decided in their favour. It is understood that the learned counsel's arguments chiefly influenced the judge (the late Sir John Leech) in arriving at this determination. This success at once trebled Mr. Bethell's practice, which increased year by year, until, in the beginning of 1840, Lord Cottenham promoted him to the dignity of Q.C.

On the elevation of Mr. Knight Bruce and Mr. Wigram to the bench, and the death of Mr. Jacob, Mr. Richard Bethell became the leader of the court of the Vice-Chancellor of England, Sir Lancelot Shadwell, and at one time was supposed to have had great power of influencing his mind. A ridiculous pun used to be current in court in reference to this supposition. "Why is Shadwell like King Jeroboam?" Answer: "Because he has set up an idol in Bethel."

Mr. Bethell appears to have been reluctant to enter the House of Commons; but having given a promise to Mr. (now Sir William) Hayter to do so, he became a candidate for Aylesbury in April, 1851, when a vacancy in the representation of that borough was occasioned by Mr. F. Calvert being unseated. Mr. Bethell was opposed by Mr. Ferrand, but was returned over that gentleman by a considerable majority. At the general election of 1852, he had a severe contest to regain the seat lost by the dissolution of parliament, but was finally returned in conjunction with the celebrated author and traveller, Mr. Austen Henry Layard; the numbers, at the close of the poll, being as follows:—Mr. Layard, 558; Mr. Bethell, 525; Dr. Bayford, 447; and Captain J. T. West, 435. The learned gentleman was re-elected as one of the representatives of Aylesbury on several subsequent occasions, until the month of May, 1859, when circumstances occurred which led him to retire from the borough. At the general election in that year, the Conservative party proposed to Sir Richard Bethell that the sitting members should be returned without a contest, to which he agreed. When the time of election arrived, however, another candidate was brought forward by the Liberal party, in the person of Mr. Vernon Wentworth, son-in-law of the Marquis of Clanricarde. Sir Richard declined to go to the poll, and, accordingly, withdrew from the borough which he had represented with distinguished ability upwards of eight years. The honourable gentleman took his seat in the new parliament, nevertheless. Having received an invitation to canvass the electors of Wolverhampton, he went there, and was elected without opposition, in succession to Mr. Thornely, who retired on account of ill-health, after serving his constituents faithfully for many years.

The Vice-Chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster was conferred upon Sir Richard Bethell in 1852. In the month of December in the same year, when the Earl of Aberdeen formed his memorable coalition ministry, the honourable and learned gentleman received the appointment of Solicitor-general; Sir Alexander Cockburn, at the same time, taking office as Attorney-general. Shortly after the changes consequent upon Lord Aberdeen's accession to the Premiership, the new Solicitor-general received the honour of knighthood. While engaged in the discharge of the duties of this important post, Sir Richard Bethell greatly assisted in carrying the Succession Duty Bill; also the Oxford University Reform Bill; the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Courts; and several other measures of importance. On the promotion of Sir Alexander Cockburn, in November, 1856, Sir Richard was appointed Attorney-general, in which capacity he carried, after a formidable struggle, measures for the abolition of the Ecclesiastical Testamentary Courts, the establishment of the Divorce Court, &c. He also brought before parliament the Fraudulent Trustee Act, and the Charitable Trusts Act, in addition to certain measures relating to improvements in equity and common law courts.

When the new Court of Probate and Divorce was about to be formed, it



is understood that Lord Palmerston offered the judgeship to Sir Richard Bethell, as an acknowledgment of his distinguished services in conducting to a successful issue the important measures of law reform upon which the court was established. Patronage to the extent of £40,000 is attached to the office: but Sir Richard declined the offer, considering that the circumstance of his having had the carriage of the bills in the lower House, might lay him open to the imputation that his exertions in connection with them had not been of that disinterested character which parliament and the public had a right to expect at his hands.

The learned gentleman resigned the Attorney-generalship in February, 1858, on the failure of Lord Palmerston's famous Conspiracy Bill; but returned to office in June, 1859, although generally named for the Lord High Chancellorship.

In the House of Commons Lord Westbury was an eloquent speaker and a ready debater. Unlike many honourable members, and unlike many of his brethren at the bar, he introduces the largest amount of matter in the fewest possible words; while he rarely, if ever, repeats an idea. As an illustration of his powers of oratory, it may be mentioned that short-hand writers, in reporting many speakers, are able to lay down their pens from time to time during the delivery of speeches without losing anything of importance. Repetitions and unnecessary phrases are so frequent, and so readily detected by professional stenographers, that they can desist from their labours minutes and minutes together, and yet afterwards present an unquestionably full and accurate report. With Lord Westbury, however, the case is widely different. His ideas are so aptly expressed, and his arguments so concise, that a momentary inattention would indubitably result in the omission of some sentence necessary to the whole, and consequently fatal to the report. The measures adopted by the Inns of Court for the education of the students, are due to the exertions of Lord Westbury. He was, from the commencement, chairman of the Council of Legal Education.

Amongst the important law cases conducted by Sir Richard Bethell, may be mentioned the Egerton will, the Montrose peerage, and the Shrewsbury peerage cases. In the former, property was involved to the enormous extent of £2,000,000 sterling. In the latter, he appeared, by virtue of being Attorney-general, as assessor on behalf of the crown; and afterwards, when out of office, during Lord Derby's administration, as counsel for the infant son of the Duke of Norfolk.

At the Board of Trade, there is an infusion of Radical blood in the person of Mr. Milner Gibson. This popular politician was born at Trinidad, in 1807, and was the only son of the late Major Gibson, of the 87th regiment. Young Gibson was a wrangler at Cambridge, and first entered parliament as Conservative member for Ipswich; but, two years later, having changed his opinions, he resigned his seat, and once more appealed to his constituents. He was defeated, and remained for some time out of parliament, having, in the interim, contested the borough of Cambridge without success. During this interval in his parliamentary career, he threw himself, heart and soul, into the great movement which had for its object the abolition of the duty on corn, and became one of the most successful orators of the League. In 1841, he was invited to stand for Manchester; and, after a smart contest with Sir George Murray, was returned for that important constituency. In 1846, at the conclusion of the anti-corn-law agitation, when Lord John Russell had taken office, and declared that his general policy was to carry out, to their natural consequences, the principles of free trade embodied in Sir Robert Peel's recent legislation, the minister sought to strengthen his cabinet by incorporating with it some of the leading members of the League; and the great skill, business habits, and persevering character of Mr. Gibson, marked him for selection. Accordingly, he became Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and a Privy Councillor; and held that office until it was thought that his connection with the government might embarrass him in his relations with his constituents, who were more desirous of progress than Lord John Russell was at that time. In 1848, Mr. Gibson resigned his position, and took his seat on the benches famed as those

of the Manchester party. Indeed, he so thoroughly identified himself with the peace advocates, that in 1857, on a general election, he lost his seat for Manchester. However, he managed to get back into the House as member for Ashton-under-Lyne. As M.P. for Manchester, he moved the vote on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, which led to Lord Palmerston having to resign his Premiership. As an able tactician and pleasing speaker, Mr. Gibson has few equals in the House. This was illustrated by his conduct as leader of the agitation for the repeal of the taxes on knowledge. At the termination of the anti-corn-law agitation, Mr. Gibson became the parliamentary advocate of free trade in knowledge. Session after session he called the attention of the House to the subject. He prevailed at length upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to repeal the duty on advertisements. In 1855, he succeeded in abolishing the penny stamp on newspapers; and even when we had still war budgets, Mr. Gibson tried hard for the repeal of the tax on paper. In this agitation he was indefatigable. The society was nothing without him. It was Mr. Milner Gibson, the member for Manchester, who conferred on it respectability and power; who presided at the annual meetings in the metropolis; who put the facts of the case in a telling way before the House of Commons; and, by his tact and *bonhomie*, secured parliamentary votes, which compelled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to take action in the matter.

The Right Hon. Edward Cardwell is Irish Secretary. He is a Liberal Conservative, and was first returned to parliament in 1842, for Clitheroe. He next had the honour of representing Liverpool; losing which, and unsuccessfully contesting Ayrshire, he became M.P. for the city of Oxford, on the appointment of Sir W. Page Wood to the Vice-Chancellorship, in the beginning of January, 1853. At college Mr. Cardwell attained high honours; and he was well trained and qualified for success at the bar. In his political character as a free-trader, he is one of its most zealous advocates; and distinguished for the liberality of his opinions in all matters which concern the commercial interests of the country. He is also remarkable for the accuracy and extent of his knowledge of such subjects. He has served the country in various offices. His first appointment dates from 1845, when he was Secretary to the Treasury. Although not a professed orator, Mr. Cardwell's concisely arranged remarks invariably command the most profound attention. In his speeches he delivers himself in a free and unpretending manner—in an even conversational tone—free from any violent gusts of passion, and utterly free of all oratorical tricks, or attempts at effect. He is now at the age of maturity—affable and courteous, both in the House and in private life; conciliatory in matters where his especial duties are concerned, and, in some respects, where asperity of temperament is almost difficult to be avoided. Let the discussion be what it may, or the warmth of debate ever so great, it is impossible to disturb Mr. Cardwell's habitual calmness and self-possession. A contemporary observes—"Mr. Cardwell is, perhaps, one of the most polite men that, perhaps, ever held an official appointment; and I should confidently believe the most scrupulous in the discharge of its duties. As far as I have personally witnessed his conduct through a lengthened period, as a public man, it has ever been marked with moral rectitude, and the earnest desire to aid the administration under which he has fulfilled various offices to the best of his ability, blended with discretion and judgment agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience." To such an one, the office of Irish Secretary, for reasons to which we need not more particularly allude, is exceedingly appropriate.

His chief, the Irish viceroy, is that genuine and well-meaning Whig, with a pleasant face, and a warm heart—the late Earl of Carlisle, better known to Exeter Hall and the British public as Lord Morpeth. The noble lord was compelled to resign the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland in consequence of ill-health. Since his return to England he had been living in retirement at Castle Howard. The disease, however, under which he was suffering made steady progress; and the noble lord died in 1864. He was born in April, 1802. As Viscount Morpeth he pursued his



studies with great success at Oxford, and entered public life as member for the borough of Morpeth. In 1841, after being elected for Yorkshire, he became Chief Secretary for Ireland. On the dissolution of parliament, which preceded the retirement of Lord Melbourne's administration in 1841, he stood again for the West Riding, and was defeated. Afterwards he visited the United States, where he received unusual honours. He was subsequently again elected for the West Riding, and was appointed Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests; and, later, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1848, he succeeded to the earldom. In 1855, when Lord Palmerston's government came into power, he was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and held the office until the advent of the Derby administration. When Lord Palmerston returned to office, the earl was again appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and remained in that office until a few weeks of his death. He was the author of *A Diary in Greek and Turkish Waters*; and one of his lectures on the life and writings of Pope, was a most able criticism of the writings of that poet. Lord Carlisle died unmarried; and was succeeded in the peerage by his brother, the Hon. and Rev. W. G. Howard, the eighth earl.

Another noticeable man in the new ministry is the Right Hon. Robert Lowe, M.P. for Kidderminster. In our time few have achieved greater parliamentary successes. He was returned to the House of Commons in July, 1852; and upon the third occasion of his addressing the House, in opposition to Mr. Disraeli's budget, he was complimented by the most distinguished men on both sides. In the following month he was appointed one of the secretaries of the Board of Control. Mr. Lowe is the son of the late Rev. Robert Lowe, rector of Bingham, Notts., where he was born in 1811. He was educated at Winchester, and University College, Oxford; and at the Union Debating Society he was one of the most talented and vehement orators on the Liberal side. In 1833, he took his degree. In 1835, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen; in 1842, after he had obtained a high reputation at Oxford as a private tutor, he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn; and the same year sailed for Australia, where, as a colonial barrister, he soon acquired a very lucrative practice. In 1843, Mr. Lowe was nominated one of the legislative council, and greatly distinguished himself by his labours upon the education and land questions; his committee reporting in favour of Lord Derby's, or the Irish national system, which now forms the basis of the educational plan adopted in every part of Australia, except Sydney. He took a very active part in colonial political struggles, and in exposing the administrative abuses of the colonial government; besides distinguishing himself as a successful law reformer—one of his measures being the abolition of imprisonment for debt. Mr. Lowe returned to England in 1850; and, in 1852, commenced his parliamentary career. In 1855, he was created a Privy Councillor, and appointed to the Vice-Presidency of the Board of Trade; and, shortly afterwards, to the office of Paymaster-general. In 1859, he was Vice-President of the Board of Education.

"Mr. Lowe's speeches, while in Australia, were distinguished," says a writer in the *Illustrated London News*, "by close argument, felicitous illustration, and notations; ridicule and sarcasm being powerful weapons in his calm hands; but in denouncing fraud, tyranny, or injustice, he can be terrible in vehement invective."

Nor must we forget that important personage, the parliamentary whipper-in. That office, on the present occasion, is filled by the Hon. Mr. Brand, M.P. for Lewes. The Treasury whipper-in is a great and important person. He takes you under his protection, and your seat is safe. He frowns, and you had better accept the Chiltern Hundreds. Be on good terms with Mr. Brand, and you are elected a member of the Reform Club; your son gets a birth in the Circumlocution Office; your wife has a ticket for Lady Palmerston's assemblies. The whipper-in, when on duty, is the most active of men. You will see him in the lobby when the Speaker is at prayers; after the Speaker has done prayers; long after the gas has been lit—far into the night; oftentimes in the early hours of the approaching morn. He seems to live in the lobby; to be able to do without food and sleep; and

to have the gift of perpetual motion. He says to one, "Come," and he cometh; to another, "Go," and he goeth. He is friendly with all; and tries to make things pleasant to all. He can talk to a dozen M.P.'s at once: he holds one by the button; to another he gives a friendly dig in the ribs; he slaps peers jocosely on the shoulder, and shakes hands heartily even with Irish M.P.'s. His duty is, as Canning said, "To make a House, to keep a House, and to cheer the minister." Altogether he is a very powerful man; not an orator, but perhaps something better, as facts speak stronger than words.

The Paymaster-general is the Hon. Mr. Cowper, Lord Palmerston's step-son—a respectable Whig, who has ever been in office with his party since he was appointed private secretary to Lord Melbourne. One little fact will testify as to Mr. Cowper's manliness of character. We have referred to the Sunday disturbances in Hyde Park. On one occasion, while a stump orator was holding forth vehemently on the question of aristocratic selfishness and tyranny, and especially signalling Mr. Cowper as the object of his animadversions, Mr. Cowper himself chanced to be a listener; and, on the conclusion of the stump oration, declared himself the individual who had been thus violently abused. Standing on the late speaker's bench he boldly addressed the multitude, entirely vindicating his character, and clearly and decidedly arguing, that so far from attempting an invasion of the people's rights, his efforts to preserve the park were in the interest of the community at large. His aim was, in reality, to afford the utmost freedom of access to the humbler classes, who had but one day in the week to enjoy the privilege. It is almost needless to add, that the multitude were highly satisfied with the honourable member's declaration; and that they greeted his unexpected appearance among them, to the great dismay of the stump orator, with the very heartiest cheers and acclamations. It speaks well for Lord Palmerston, that Mr. Cowper, with all his merits, is in a, comparatively speaking, subordinate position. Against his lordship little charge of nepotism could be laid. His maxim was that of Fourier—"To every man according to his capacity; to every capacity according to its work."

His appointment of Mr. Gibson showed Lord Palmerston's Christian-like forgiveness of injuries. It was also a holding out of the olive-branch to the extreme Radicals, which was followed by the adhesion of another advanced Liberal. Northampton, a very dissenting and Radical borough, returned Mr. Charles Gilpin as its representative to parliament; and Lord Palmerston made him Secretary to the Poor-Law Board. There was little of the blue blood of aristocracy in Mr. Gilpin's veins. Originally, he was a commercial traveller, hailing from Manchester. He then became the Quaker bookseller in Bishopsgate Street, London; and, as a relative of Joseph Sturge, and a Quaker, had much to do with peace societies, temperance societies, societies for the abolition of death punishments, and so forth. He had worked his way, also, into the Common Council of the City of London; and had been known there as the champion of advanced political reforms. In the House of Commons his place had been with Cobden and Bright; and it was thought rather clever, on Lord Palmerston's part, to detach Mr. Gilpin from his natural leaders, and to place him on the Treasury benches. The Premier gained more than Mr. Gilpin by this step: the latter found his tongue tied, and himself reduced to insignificance, politically speaking; the former acquired the credit of rising above party or aristocratic considerations, desirous to be on good terms with the Manchester school, and to confer office on men qualified, by business tact and talent, for the successful discharge of the duties attaching to it.

As might be expected from Lord Palmerston's antecedents, the new ministry acted the play of *Hamlet*, omitting Hamlet. The late cabinet had gone out on a Reform Bill; the new cabinet took care that, at any rate, they would avoid such a catastrophe. The affair is too disgraceful to dwell on. It is little that we feel inclined to say on the unwelcome theme.

In the royal speech of June, 1859, as soon as the new parliament met, the



queen was made to say—"I should, with pleasure, give my sanction to any well-considered measure for the amendment of the laws which regulate the representation of my people in parliament; and should you be of opinion that the necessity of giving your immediate attention to measures of urgency relating to the defence and financial condition of the country will not leave you sufficient time for legislating with due deliberation, during the present session, on a subject at once so difficult and extensive, I trust that, at the commencement of the next session, your earnest attention will be given to a question of which an early and satisfactory settlement would be greatly to the public advantage."

Again, in January, 1860, her majesty states—"Measures will be laid before you for amending the laws which regulate the representation of the people in parliament, and for placing that representation on a broader and firmer basis."

While in opposition, Lord Palmerston, during the discussion of the Derby-Disraeli Reform Bill, is reported to have said—"With respect to the borough franchise, I confess, myself, that I entertained a strong opinion that the £10 franchise was one that ought to be maintained; but, on further consideration and inquiry, I am of opinion that it would be desirable to lower that amount, for the purpose of admitting to the franchise the better, the more instructed, and the more respectable class of working-men. \* \* \* \* I am convinced a reduction might be made, and I think ought to be made, in the borough franchise. \* \* \* I do not suspect that the government have quite so great a want of a due sense of the duties which they are called upon to perform, as to abandon thus a measure which they have deliberately undertaken to propose to parliament on the important subject of reform. \* \* \* \* If this measure is not now carried, and the question is hung up for public discussion for the next twelve months, I am sure it is scarcely necessary to remind the House that great public inconvenience is likely to be the result."

In his election address, in June the same year, he declares—"We shall also have to consider the important laws which regulate the representation of the people in parliament; and I trust that we may be able so to deal with that subject as to strengthen the institutions of the country by placing them on a broader and firmer foundation."

When the new parliament had met, and he was again Premier, Lord Palmerston excused the delay in bringing in a new Reform Bill as follows:—"It would be trifling with so great and important a subject as that of parliamentary reform, if we were to attempt to introduce into this House, during the present session, a bill upon that subject. That it will be our endeavour and determination to avail ourselves of the earliest moment of the next session of parliament to prepare and produce such a bill, I will give the assurance of myself and my colleagues."

And, in 1860, when the House seemed inclined to trifle with the measure, he thus expressed himself—"I say it is not a straightforward or a manly course to endeavour, by delay, to oppose the passing of a measure to the principles of which gentlemen on the other side of the House are as much pledged as those who sit on this. \* \* \* \* Is the House prepared to affirm that there shall be no reform in the representation of the people? I ask honourable gentlemen opposite, whether, after all that passed when their leaders were in office, they will venture to affirm that there shall be no reform in the representation of the people? It is impossible!"

His colleagues were of the same opinion. Sir George Grey said—"I believe that there are very few honourable members who do not think it is absolutely necessary that this question should be disposed of; not by attempting to set it aside, or shelve it; not by endeavouring to shut the doors against those of the working classes who are now excluded from the franchise, but by the admission of a portion, at least, of them to the exercise of the suffrage upon the principles embodied in the bill now before the House."

In July, 1859, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, made his financial statement. The total revenue of the year, which had been estimated at £63,900,000, had produced £65,477,000; the total annual expenditure had been £64,663,000; the surplus being upwards of £800,000. The revenue for the current year he estimated at £64,340,000; and the expenditure at £69,207,000. He proposed to meet the deficiency by several measures, the principal of which was the addition of fourpence in the pound to the income-tax, payable on incomes of £150 a year, and upwards.

The Divorce Act, enabling husbands and wives to gain a divorce when the matrimonial tie was unbearable (which had been found to work well), was further amended. In July, Lord Brougham called the attention of the House to its working, which had been satisfactory; but he argued that the amount of business in court showed the necessity of an increased judicial force. Undoubtedly, much of the success of the new court was due to the appointment of Sir Cresswell Cresswell as its first judge. Sir Cresswell was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge; and called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1819. Having won for himself the rank of king's counsel in 1834, and led the northern circuit with an ability which acquired for him high reputation, he was elected as M.P. for Liverpool in 1837. Mr. Cresswell continued to represent that great commercial community till 1842, when, by the government of Sir Robert Peel, he was appointed one of the justices of the Common Pleas, and knighted on his elevation to the bench. Sir Cresswell gave such signal proofs of his accuracy, his acuteness, and his quick wit, that his appointment, in 1858, to be judge in the newly-created Divorce Court, was, on all sides, considered most appropriate; and, till his death, which took place a few years after, by an accident when riding, every one felt that Sir Cresswell discharged the duties of his delicate and difficult position with unparalleled ability and tact.

Parliament was prorogued by commission, August 13th, the royal speech being read by the Lord Chancellor.

Amongst the miscellaneous occurrences of the year, we may note that, on February 26th, the Armstrong gun, a weapon of vast range and great power, was introduced into the artillery service of Great Britain, after numerous testing experiments at Woolwich.—A curate, Mr. Poole, who had introduced the confessional at Knightsbridge, had his license revoked.—At Malta, the custom hitherto observed, of sentries carrying arms, and presenting arms at the passage of the Host in procession, was discontinued, in consequence of instructions from the home government.—At Galway, there were serious riots on account of Father Gavazzi visiting that town to lecture against popery.—Australia was also favoured with two new bishoprics—that of Brisbane and Goulbourn. Towards each of these new bishoprics the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts contributed £1,000.—In small matters, we note that, on the 10th of April, about 200 ministers of the gospel, in London and its vicinity, preached sermons on the early closing of shops, with the view of allowing assistants additional time for mental improvement; that a great meeting was held at Willis's rooms, in support of the drinking fountain movement, the Earl of Carlisle in the chair; and that, on the 21st of April, the first public drinking fountain, erected under the superintendence of the association, at the expense of Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P., was opened at the corner of St. Sepulchre's churchyard, in the presence of a large number of spectators, by Mrs. Wilson, daughter of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Vauxhall Gardens was also closed at this time; not so much, however, an indication of advanced morality as of the increased value of its site as building-ground.

In the scientific world, the wonder of the time is the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, which, on the 7th of September, left her moorings at Deptford, for Portland roads. On the voyage, which was otherwise satisfactory, an explosion took place off Hastings, owing to some imperfection or neglect in connection with the casing of



one of her boilers, when ten firemen were killed, and several persons seriously injured. Ultimately the ship makes successful voyages to America. One of them is thus described by a writer in the *New York Herald*:—

“Seven hundred feet of flush deck, never wet with spray in any ordinary gale; 1,200 people sprinkled about the monster, making no more show than the ordinary complement of a common steamer for society. The four 18-pounders peal out their parting salute to the crowded docks at Liverpool, and notify us that we are under weigh—a fact that is hardly indicated to a close observer by any jar of the engines, or any motion of the ship, even when she is going at speed in smooth water. Below decks the ship looks most unostentatiously plain, but substantial to the highest point; and with the hammering she had in the terrific gale when she lost her rudder, and afterwards, when she struck a new-found rock in mid-channel off Montauk, not the slightest sign of strain can be found upon her. Her arrangements for passengers are the first step in that reverse of old quarter-deck rules which steam must sooner or later bring, in order to avoid coal-smoke and other nuisances. Her fore-castle for the crew, to speak Hibernice, comes next the taffrail, then the quarters of the steerage passengers on the after part of the two decks, with air ports, which can be kept open all the time—price of passage being about what a labouring man can earn during the thirty-five days that he will save as compared with the crowded ’twixt decks of a sailing ship. Forward of this comes the intermediate steerage, where, at a low rate, a few passengers get very fair quarters in rough state-rooms, which most people would prefer, for eleven days, to the cabin of a sailing ship for forty. These arrangements for the crew and steerage passengers take up less than a quarter of the ship’s length. Next comes the second cabin, the occupants of which share the remaining three-quarters of the deck with the captain, officers, and first-class passengers. Below decks they are only separated by an iron bulkhead and a curtain door from the first cabin, and yet, practically, all the advantages of the first class, good air, state-rooms, good, substantial food, and a fair half of the delightful music which the band discourses at meals in the first cabin. We now come to the more aristocratic part of the ship, which is generally plain as a pikestaff, and owes its attractions more to its ample light and perfect ventilation, than to any attempt at elegance or ornament, excepting the grand saloon and ladies’ cabin, which shine with gilt and mirrors. Those who have been smothered for a fortnight in the little air-tight state-rooms of the little 3,000-ton steamers, flavoured with sea-sick reminiscences, can but appreciate the luxury of an open port, fifteen inches in diameter, in each state-room. Here you can get quarters in rooms, varying from twenty feet square, at corresponding prices, but all having the one thing needful for health—namely, fresh air *ad libitum*, and some suites of rooms with baths and water-closets attached. We have now surveyed the comforts of the ship. The luxuries consist of a good table, attention, service, and a most capital band of fifteen pieces, which sounds the *réville* in the morning, and the retreat at night; announces the meals by bugle-calls, accompanies the dinner below, and then amuses the world above for an hour or two about sunset, giving the steerage and other passengers a chance, which they often wait for, to dance upon the broad and even deck. But, asks a timid friend, how about safety with all this comfort, luxury, and grandeur? and how about sea-sickness? Let us weigh our good ship’s qualities in the light of prudence and experience. Once at sea, all admit that she is the safest ship that floats. She is built with wonderful strength and skill, and has stood more tests than any ship now extant. Any ordinary collision with other vessels could only result in her favour. She is nearly fireproof, and her fire-engines have lain nightly along her decks, reducing her danger to almost nothing. A gale of wind at sea is merely sport to her. In case of breaking down one set of engines, she has, besides her sails, either her screw or her paddles left. But how can she be safe in approaching the shore with her unwieldy bulk and great draught of water? Let those who saw her go into Queenstown inner harbour before a gale of wind, and turn in her

own length amid the shipping, under the guidance of Captain Paton, as a steed obeys its rider, say whether she is docile. In truth, the advantages of handling her in narrow water by turning the screw one way and the paddle the other, makes her, under skilful hands, more manageable than ordinary sea-steamer. This brings us to her one admitted fault, counterbalanced by so many virtues—that she draws five feet more water than a steamer of 3,000 tons, and may thus pick up a new ledge of rocks or an old sand-bar when the other would go clear. True, she may again, as she did off Montauk; and what was the result? With six holes in her bottom, one of them one hundred feet long, and one forty feet long, she resumed her voyage into port, and delivered her passengers unfrightened, her cargo undamaged. She has, in fact, double bottoms, three feet apart, besides a great number of compartments, some of which could be filled by ruptures in both her bottoms without the ship sinking. It would be a long story to tell the patience and invention which enabled Captain Paton and his officers to repair her bottom without the help of any dock; but the same qualities which then got her out of difficulty gives the best guarantee for her future safety while he walks 'the monarch of her peopled deck.' How about sea-sickness? There is absolutely no pitch to her in any ordinary gale, an angle of six degrees being the greatest her decks ever attain fore and aft. Here is one-half the motive cause of sea-sickness taken out. She rolls with an easier motion than most ships, but still she rolls at times about as much as smaller ships. On the passage we have had racks on the table to secure the plates part of two days. Very sensitive people will still sometimes be sea-sick on board; but, with freedom from pitching and from bad smells, and with the abundance of fresh air, it is difficult to imagine any better security against nausea than she furnishes. Out of 1,200 passengers a few have been sick; but a great majority of those who are usually sea-sick are entirely free from it. Let us now leave these dry details, and revert to the scene which enlivened the good ship on the 4th of July, 1863. The sky was bright, the sea was blue and smooth, and most of her passengers were on deck. About noon certain mysterious bundles were seen rising to her masthead; and, at a signal from Captain Paton, these unrolled and displayed the glorious stars and stripes upon one mast, and St. George's red cross on the other, while her cannon thundered forth a national salute, and the full band gave us the inspiring 'Hail, Columbia.' The salute ended, two standards were handed—one, the American, to a fine-looking Englishman, and the other, English, to a stalwart American; and the passengers, steerage and cabin, marched three times round the ship (nearly a mile), led by the band, playing national airs. A few speeches, good for the shortness, if for nothing else; cheers for the flag, for the queen, for the ship, and for Captain Paton, closed this harmonious festivity. At dinner the best feeling was manifested by all, and much interchange of courtesy between Americans and English occurred; but there was no formal celebration, our energies being reserved for the evening."

Another item of shipping intelligence is the arrival of Captain M'Clintock, in September, from the Arctic region, whither he had been looking, in the *Fox* yacht, for Sir John Franklin and his brave companions, who had sailed there to prosecute geographical inquiries. Alas! no living trace of the expedition remains: they are all dead. Such is the conclusion at which Captain M'Clintock arrives. He brings home numerous relics, to be religiously preserved.

In November, on the 26th, there is a terrible gale, causing extensive loss of life and property over England, and on its coasts. A fine new steamer, the *Royal Charter*, homeward bound from Australia, is wrecked off the Isle of Anglesey, just as the passengers had calculated that all danger was past, and that "home, sweet home" was safely reached. Sad to say, of a crew and passengers numbering 500, more than 450 perished in that dark and dreadful storm off that rocky coast.

In foreign matters—with the exception of Italy, to which we have already alluded—there is little to interest. In July, the island of St. Juan, in the strait between Vancouver's Island and the Washington territory, is taken possession of by



General Harvey, in the name of the United States' government—an assumption protested against by Governor Douglas, of British Columbia, on behalf of Great Britain.

At Paris, in April, there was a conference of the European powers in reference to the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Couza, the new hospodar of Wallachia, had been previously elected to the hospodarship of Moldavia, thus practically uniting the two principalities under one government; and this, on certain conditions, was accepted by the sultan.

Schamyl, the heroic leader of the Circassians, is this year betrayed to the Russians. Concerning this man, so much has been written that is false, that it is really difficult exactly to ascertain what is really true. It is said he was born in 1797, in the north of the Caucasian district of Daghestan. From his earliest years he was proud and ambitious, inclined to athletic sports, and trials of skill with his compeers. A mystic as well as a soldier, Schamyl soon became a noted man. In 1824, when he first took part in his country's defence, the leader of the Lesghians, the most warlike of the tribes, was Kasi Mollah. Schamyl became one of his ardent and efficient followers, and rapidly rose in esteem, on account of his valour and devotion. For several years the mountaineers defended themselves with brilliant success; but, in 1831, the Russian general, Van Rosen, assembling a large army, marched against Koissu, in northern Daghestan; stormed the reputedly impregnable pass; drove his enemy from position after position in sanguinary battles; and finally threw Kasi Mollah and his Murids back upon Himry. The Russians surrounded the place; and the besieged fought their last battle. Kasi Mollah and his Murids were all slain. Schamyl, pierced by two balls, fell at his leader's feet. From this critical predicament he managed, nevertheless, to escape in time to be present at the first meeting of the discomfited tribes, held after the battle. In 1836, he was elected Kasi Mollah's successor. In 1837, he inflicted on the army of General Iweletsch the most serious defeat, until then, sustained by the Russians. In the same year, with a handful of men, he defended Tiliboa so successfully against 12,000 Russians, under General Hafi, that they, in spite of partial success, had to make a precipitate retreat. The result was, that a division which had heretofore existed was healed, and that Schamyl was universally recognised as leader. The Czar Nicholas now visited the Caucasus; and preparations were multiplied on either side. The Russians had this advantage—that they had completely hemmed in the enemy in his mountainous territory: nevertheless, he evaded them, and often inflicted on them considerable loss by his attacks. In 1839, Schamyl was placed in extreme danger while defending the castle redoubt of Akhoulogo, against General Grabbe. Fifteen hundred of his Murids fell, and 900 were taken prisoners: yet, when the battle was over, Schamyl was nowhere to be found. The Russians, knowing that he had been present, and believing that they were masters of all the communications of the place, could not believe that he had escaped them, until they found themselves attacked in the rear by another force led by Schamyl in person. These numerous escapes have contributed to exalt Schamyl, among the great mass of his followers, as a being enjoying the special favour of Heaven. His mode of warfare was strictly adapted to the nature of the country in which he operated; and was essentially defensive, notwithstanding the frequency of his forays. His personal appearance is thus described:—"He is fair, with grey eyes and a regular nose. He is a middle-sized man, and a sufferer from pain in the eyes. His hands, feet, and mouth are small; and his skin is whiter than that of his countrymen. His beard is grey."

The young Queen of Portugal died this year, after an illness of only five days. She had been only a few months married.

Spain, a country that never pays its debts, and is always in disorder, must needs rush into an unjustifiable war with Morocco. The government of the latter country energetically protested against the harsh and precipitous conduct of Spain in commencing hostilities. The protest, which is addressed to the representatives

of foreign powers resident at Tangier, and is signed Mahommed le Kalib (the Morocco Minister for Foreign Affairs), thus concludes—"Our desire is to keep up the most friendly relation with all nations; but we renew our protest against the unjust conduct of the Spanish nation, which does not know how to decide on what it demands, or how to respect its promises. We appeal to Almighty God, and to the great and powerful governments of Europe and America; we appeal to all men who in this world follow the path of justice, and who judge the rights of others without having recourse to force. We put our trust in God, praying Him to regard us with a favourable eye. We calmly await the course of events, and we shall act in such a way that no one shall be able to reproach us: all the evil will come from our enemies. Peace be with you."

As regards our illustrious ally, the French emperor, there was still, in England, a considerable amount of uneasiness. We were alarmed at the ease with which France suddenly despatched an immense army to Italy. The sudden peace of Villafranca brought with it fresh suspicions; and in parliament, and in the press, there certainly was displayed but little cordiality towards France.

On the 21st of August, the session of the council-general was opened. On taking his seat as president of the *Pay de Dôme*, Count de Morny especially adverted to the warlike speeches in the English parliament, the articles of a similar tendency in the English newspapers, and the volunteer movement. These things were justified, he said, in England by the tone of the French press, which was alleged to be that of the French government; and he represented the English as saying, that "the emperor retained, at the bottom of his heart, the desire to avenge Waterloo and St. Helena;" and that he had only concluded peace with the Emperor of Austria, as he had previously done with the czar, to render Francis Joseph his friend, and an enemy of England. The count denied all this. He told his hearers, that when he went as ambassador to Russia, his instructions were, "not to let any encroachment be made on the English alliance." And the subsequent acts and objects of the emperor had been equally misrepresented: but, he said, "time, and the determination of the emperor to lead France into the occupations and labours of peace," would, he doubted not, triumph over chimerical fears. "The only war to be made on England was a manufacturing and commercial war." The only conflict between the two nations was to be one of progress and civilisation; loyal, avowable, and which would be advantageous to all. That was what the emperor desired; and he called on his hearers to second the efforts of his majesty. On the same day, another of the emperor's friends, M. de la Guéronniere, president of the council-general of the *Haute Vienne*, endeavoured to lessen the disgust which was expressed in many quarters at the preliminaries of Villafranca. He described the agreement between the two emperors as a fitting sequel to the victories gained by the French armies. "It tore," he said, "one of the most mournful pages of the treaty of 1815." It changed and reformed the conditions of the balance of power in Europe, and secured for France a preponderance which Louis XIV., notwithstanding the sword of Turenne, and the genius of Colbert, could not accomplish.

The feeling of distrust in this country still existing, four Liverpool merchants—Messrs. Shaw, Irving, Mellor, and Blackwell—had the impudence, or ignorance, to address a letter to the French emperor, requesting to know "what were his intentions with respect to England." M. Mocquard, the private secretary of the emperor, replied to this missive in his majesty's name, on the 30th of November. He told the four merchants that, "on the one hand, they were affected with an imaginary disease, which seemed to have attacked their country like an epidemic; on the other, they counted on the loyalty of him from whom they expected an answer." He assured them that, "up to that moment, there had been no word of the emperor, or an act, which had permitted a doubt respecting his sentiments, and, consequently, his intentions towards England. His conduct, irrevocably the same, had not, for a moment, ceased to be that of a faithful ally. That which he



had been, he wished to continue to be. In proof of the fact, there was the approaching community of distant perils between the soldiers (alluding to the Chinese war) of the two nations."

Still, what Mr. Cobden terms the "panic" went on. The Lords had originated it: they did not avowedly espouse or defend the cause of Austria; public opinion was too strong in the opposite direction. But, to "proclaim the danger of an invasion of England, and thus rouse the hostile passions of the French emperor," wrote Mr. Cobden, in his pamphlet on the *Three Panics*, "operated, to some extent, as a diversion in favour of his antagonists; and he is said, by those who were in a position to be well-informed on the subject, to have been so far influenced by the hostile attitude manifested in high quarters in this country, that it operated, among other causes, disadvantageously to the Italian cause, in bringing the campaign to a precipitate close." On the 1st of July, the volunteer corps and the navy estimates became the subject of discussion in the upper House. It seemed as if we were actually at war with France. Lord Ellenborough called for seventy line-of-battle ships, but declared that no increase of the navy could, under present circumstances, protect us against invasion; that, for "six months in the year, an enemy may land 60,000 to 80,000 men on any beach on the south coast of England;" and, with his wonted proneness to strategy, he called for forts to protect "all the ports and all the roads in which it would be possible for an enemy to place a fleet with any degree of security, and where he might form *têtes-de-pont* that would assist his future operations;" and he particularly pointed to Portland, "that port which the late French ambassador went down to reconnoitre, and which he took the trouble of visiting at the end of last summer, in order to see the particular advantages it possessed. He trusted that whenever that respectable gentleman went to that port again, he would find it in a better position than when he saw it last."

Lord Howden, who said "he resided in France, and his social relations were chiefly in that country," declared that the entire population of that empire were eager for the invasion of England, regardless of the consequences.

"He did not believe that the idea of conquering this country had ever entered into the head of any sane Frenchman, any more than any sane Englishman had ever entertained the notion that we should allow ourselves to be conquered by France. He felt assured that no Frenchman had ever dreamt of taking possession of this island; but he felt almost equally certain that every Frenchman living dreamt, both by day and by night, of humiliating this country, and robbing her of the position which she alone maintained among the nations of Europe—that of possessing an inviolate soil. Thousands of persons in England scouted the very thought of an invasion. They asked, 'What is the use of it?—it could have no permanent result.' The people of France were aware that it could not; but then they did not adopt the same mode of reasoning on the subject. A forlorn hope might enter some miserable village, inhabited by six fishermen and a ploughboy; a bulletin might be signed on British soil, proclaiming the glorious triumph of French arms; the French eagles might stream from every steeple from Acton to Ealing, and from Ealing to Harrow. The very prospect was enough to throw every Frenchman into a transport of joy, and that, too, though he might be perfectly aware that not a single one of his countrymen would return home to tell the tale."

But the great speech of the session on this subject, and one which was a nine days' wonder at the clubs, has yet to be noticed. On the 5th of July, Lord Lyndhurst brought forward the subject of the national defences. He began his argument by repeating the statement of the First Lord of the Admiralty, that "France exceeded us the year before, in a small proportion, in line-of-battle ships; but that she exceeded us, in an enormous proportion, in steam frigates." He brings the two "fleets" into combat in the Channel; and argues, in case of defeat, that we have no reserve to prevent an immense military force from being landed on our shores. The "fleets" are brought also into collision in the Mediterranean

and elsewhere; but no allusion is made to the existence of any other than ships of the line and frigates. He cites Lord Palmerston's "very emphatic words, that steam has converted the Channel into a river, and thrown a bridge across it;" and he argues that "a large army may, within a few hours—in the course of a single night—be landed on any part of our shores." "I know," said he, "from information which I have received, and the accuracy of which I do not doubt, that the French are, at the present moment, building steamers for the purpose of transporting troops, each of which is constructed to carry 2,500 men, with all the necessary stores. This, therefore, is the description of force which you must prepare yourselves to meet." He called for an establishment of 100,000 troops and embodied militia, and the same number of disembodied and trained militia, "in order to be prepared for any emergency which may arise." He avowed that he felt something like a sentiment of humiliation in going through these details. "I recollect," said he, "the day when every part of the opposite coast was blockaded by an English fleet. I remember the victory of Camperdown, and that of St. Vincent, won by Sir John Jervis; I do not forget the great victory of the Nile; nor, last of all, that triumphant fight at Trafalgar, which almost annihilated the navies of France and Spain. I contrast the position which we occupied at that period with that which we now hold. I recollect the expulsion of the French from Egypt; the achievement of victory after victory in Spain; the British army established in the south of France; and, last of all, the great victory by which that war was terminated." Interspersed with these irritating reminiscences were such remarks as—"I will not consent to live in dependence on the friendship or forbearance of any country:" "are we to sit supine on our own shores, and not prepare the means necessary in case of war to resist that power?"—remarks which, as Mr. Cobden wrote, "considering our overwhelming naval superiority at the time, can be compared only to the act of brandishing a weapon in the face of a friendly neighbour."

In the House of Commons, the great panic speech of the session, as Mr. Cobden terms it, was that of Mr. Horsman, who, on the 29th of July, brought forward his motion for raising money, by loan, for completing the necessary works of national defence, projected or already in progress. The assumption was, that all other modes of defence, whether by fleets, armies, militia, or volunteers, were insufficient. He proposed to borrow a sum of money, which ultimately took the formidable proportions of from ten to twelve millions, to be expended on fortifications. "Not a moment," exclaimed the honourable gentleman, "must be lost in making the country safe against every accident; and until it was so, we must act as if the crisis were upon us. No human tongue could tell how soon or suddenly it might arrive; and that it might still be distant was our good fortune, of which we should make the most. Every public or private yard should be put into full work; every artificer and extra hand should work extra hours, as if the war were to begin next week. As gun-boats could be built more rapidly than men-of-war, gun-boats should be multiplied as fast as possible; as volunteers could be enrolled faster than the line, they should at once be raised; as rifles could not be made fast enough in England, we should renew that order in Belgium, even though they should cost sixpence a piece more than the Horse-Guards' regulation; and night and day, the process of manufacturing, constructing, arming, drilling, should go on till the country was made safe; and then we might desist from preparations, and return to our peace expenditure, with the certainty that these humiliating, lowering, and degrading panic-cries of invasion would never disturb our country or our government again."

Yet, after all, we were not so badly off. In a subsequent debate on the national defences (5th August), Lord Palmerston said—"I hold that, in the event of war, we could put into the field something little short of 200,000 fighting-men. We have the regular force of, I hope, not less than 60,000 men. Then we have the militia, the establishment of which is 120,000 men; and if that militia be well recruited and supplied—as, in the event of emergency, I am sure would



be the case—I reckon upon 100,000 there. Then we have 14,000 yeomanry; 12,000 or 14,000 pensioners; and then we have those men who have served their ten years, with whom my right honourable friend, the Secretary for War, proposes to deal to-night. We have, also, always at home a certain force of marines; and we could, if we chose, reorganise our dockyard battalions for the defence of those establishments. Putting all these forces together, I say that an enemy contemplating an attack upon us, must reckon upon not less than 200,000 men to resist him.”

Outside the walls of parliament, the panic took the more sensible form of the establishment of the rifle corps movement—a movement which has for its aim, “Defence, not defiance;” which has rendered us secure at home; and which has done much to add to the manliness of a public hitherto too much absorbed in business or sedentary pursuits. Not only were special meetings called to forward the object, but at every public gathering, whatever its origin or purpose, the topic was sure to be obtruded. Especially was it so at the Agricultural Society’s meetings, whose orators, instead of descanting on the rival breeds of cattle, or the various kinds of tillage, discussed the prospects of an invasion, and the best mode of dealing with the invaders. “How much will you charge the French for your corn when they land?” cried one of his audience, to a sturdy Somersetshire yeoman, who was on his legs addressing them; and his reply—“They shall pay for it with their blood”—elicited rounds of applause. The assumption everywhere was—founded on the declarations made in parliament—that France was surpassing us as a naval power. In the language of Mr. Cobden—who may be taken as a witness to the feeling of the time—the ambitious designs of the third Napoleon were discussed in language scarcely less denunciatory than that which had been applied to his uncle fifty years before. To doubt his hostile intentions was a proof of either want of patriotism or of sagacity: had not venerable peers proclaimed their alarm; and would they have broken through their habitual reserve without sufficient cause? And did not successive governments make enormous additions to our navy estimates: they were in a position to command exclusive information; and was it likely, unless they had positive proof of impending danger, that they would have imposed such unnecessary expense on the country? This last appeal was quite irresistible; for the good British public defer, with a faith amounting to superstition, to the authority of official men. All this tended to throw the odium of our increased taxation on the emperor, who was supposed to personify our national danger; and the ominous words were sometimes heard—“We had better fight it out.” Such was the state of fear, irritation, and resentment in which the public mind was thrown towards the close of 1859; and probably at no previous time, within the experience of the present generation, had an accident afforded the occasion, would the country have been so resigned to a war with France.

Happily, owing to the wisdom of their rulers, no such terrible catastrophe as war between France and England occurred. Happily, also, the volunteer movement took root, and prospered, and became a permanent institution. It began by several corps offering their services, in 1859, under the old act of George III. In 1863, the volunteer force was returned at 159,000—a number, perhaps, less than was at one time anticipated; but sufficiently large to provide, with the addition of the regular army, for the defence of the country, and to preserve us from the disgraceful panics with which it had been our habit periodically to fall. When Lord Palmerston’s administration came into office, there were thirteen corps established. Their services were offered gratuitously, and they received no arms or ammunition. The first step taken by Lord Herbert towards granting the volunteers assistance, was the offer to supply from 15 to 25 per cent. of the rifles and ammunition. Ultimately, the whole of the rifles used by the volunteers were supplied from the government stores. Other steps were taken, with a view to promote the efficiency of the force; but still no pecuniary aid was given. In 1862, a commission was appointed to consider the state of the volunteer organisation; and they recom-

mended a grant of money, to which parliament readily assented; and government resolved to give every man of the Light Horse Engineers and Rifle Volunteers, who should come up to the prescribed standard of efficiency, 20s. a year; and if he should go through the appointed course of ball-practice, 10s. a year in addition. To every efficient artilleryman, 20s. more is also given; and for certain other requirements, 10s. additional. In 1862, the vote taken on behalf of the force was £122,888; in 1863, £321,884—a sum the nation does not, nor need not, grudge. It is not too much for an army of 159,000. We are not an aggressive people. We have no designs against the happiness, the freedom, or the prosperity of other nations. All we ask is, that our soil may be preserved from the tread of the invader; that our commerce may be secure; that the sanctity of our hearths and homes may remain undefiled: and thus is it that the volunteer movement is the most popular movement of the day; that we all rush to its annual reviews on Brighton Downs; that in its friendly rivalries we rejoice, and find that, like Barry Cornwall's far-famed Trinity ale—

“ When rightly understood,  
It promoteth brotherly neighbourhood.”

In the good old days the English were the first bowmen of Europe. At the battle of Hastings our Anglo-Saxon forefathers learnt a lesson which they took care not to forget. From that period the English archers began to rise in repute, and, in course of time, proved themselves, by their achievements in war, both the admiration and terror of their foes. The exploits of other nations were thrown into the shade. The great achievements of the English bowmen, which shed lustre upon the annals of the nation, extended over a period of more than five centuries. All the youth and manhood of the yeomanry of England were engaged in the practice of the long bow. We were at that time a nation of volunteers. Hence sprang the large bodies of efficient troops, ready for the service of their country. These men were not a rude undisciplined rabble, but were trained and disciplined to deal their arrows with terrible effect. Some few places still retain names which tell us where the bowmen used to assemble for practice—as Shooter's Hill, in Kent; Newington Butts, near London; and St. Augustine Butts, near Bristol. Many of the noble and country families of Great Britain have the symbols of archery on their escutcheons. There are also existing families who have derived their surnames from the names of the different crafts formerly engaged in the manufacture of the bow and its accompaniments. As, for instance, the names of Bowyer, Stringer, Arrowsmith, &c. If we refer to our language, there will be found many phrases and proverbial expressions drawn from, or connected with, archery; some suggesting forethought and caution—as, “Always have two strings to your bow;” it being the custom of military archers to take additional bowstrings with them into the field of battle: “Get the short hand of your adversaries;” “Draw not thy bow before the arrow be fixed;” “Kill two birds with one shaft.” In speaking of a man's evil designs recoiling upon himself, they expressed it as, “To outshoot a man in his own bow.” “He shoots wide of the mark,” represented a foolish guess. “A fool's bolt is soon shot,” was the way in which they described vague and silly conversation. It was said of braggarts, “Many talked of Robin Hood who never shot with his bow.” Our ancestors also expressed liberality of sentiments, and their opinion that merit belonged exclusively to no particular class or locality, by the following pithy expressions:—“Many a good bow besides one in Chester;” and “An archer is known by his aim, and not by his arrows.”

And the result was, we never feared invasion. Those were not the times when old ladies were frightened out of their night's sleep. Every Englishman was a free, a ready, and a fearless soldier. The foe might growl at a distance, but he never dared to touch our shores, to plunder our cities, to massacre our smiling babes, and to do outrage worse than death to our English maidens: and thus it



will continue to be, now that the bow has been superseded by the rifle, when our lads of public spirit respond to the poet's appeal—

“Form! riflemen, form!”

## CHAPTER XV.

### PROGRESSIVE LEGISLATION, AND THE FRENCH TREATY OF COMMERCE.

IN the letter of the Paris correspondent of the *Times*, dated December 22nd, 1859, and which appeared in that journal of the 24th, a conversation between an Englishman and a Frenchman was reported, which we are told did not at first excite much attention. The Englishman, without entertaining them himself, was described as drawing the attention of the Frenchman to the feelings so prevalent in England, that France entertained bad intentions towards that country. As particular facts denoting those intentions, “the development given to the French navy, out of all proportion to the requirements and greatness of the country;” “the building iron-plated ships at Toulon,” and, “at Nantes, hundreds of flat-bottomed boats;” the large supplies of coal which had been imported, and the activity at the arsenals, were insisted upon by the Englishman. The Frenchman explained them all. First, ignoring “the supernumerary” and “extraordinary” credits which had every year been added to the sums voted in the budget, he pointed out, “that not a centime could be expended without the vote of the legislative body, and the previous examination of the council of state;” and that the sums voted “indicated no excessive expenditure on the part of government.” With respect to the navy, it had been directed by a royal ordinance of November 22nd, 1846, that the naval force on the peace establishment should comprise 328 ships, of which forty were to be of the line, and fifty frigates. When the great superiority of steam over sailing vessels became manifest, the emperor, in 1855, named a commission, under the presidency of Admiral Hamelin, to fix the basis of the new fleet necessary for France. The commission reported in favour of transforming the sailing ships into steamers. It was calculated that thirteen years would be required to complete the transformation; and an extraordinary credit for the navy, of 17,000,000 francs per annum, was voted for the thirteen years. At that moment they had thirteen ships of the line and thirty-five frigates to build, to complete the peace establishment fixed by Louis Philippe. As to the plated vessels, which were claimed as an invention of the emperor, they were merely an experiment; and transports were building, because the merchant navy was not sufficiently developed to enable the government to procure steam transports when needed. As to the flat-bottomed boats, they were intended, when the English ministry seemed disposed to make coals a contraband of war, to promote the internal communication. French coals were brought to Nantes, and had to be taken to Brest by canals; and the boats were intended to facilitate the transfer over the docks. As to the quantity of coals purchased and imported, they were required to supply the fleet in China, and in other parts of the globe; and the activity in the arsenals was the result of that state of transformation which the artillery as well as the ships had to undergo. The Englishman thanked his companion for the information, and said he would turn it to account. It turned out that the Englishman was Mr. Cobden, and the Frenchman the emperor himself.

It had occurred to Mr. Cobden, as it had done to Mr. Pitt before him, that a commercial treaty with France would tend to perpetuate peace and good-will between that great country and ourselves. “He had frequently,” says his biographer, “talked over this idea with other illustrious free-traders, especially with such

men as Michel Chevalier, the distinguished French political economist, and Mr. Bright: and the latter publicly expounded it, and urged its adoption, in a speech delivered shortly after the formation of the ministry in 1859. Chevalier, when he read this speech, wrote to Cobden, stating his belief that the time was now ripe for the completion of the idea which had formed so frequent a subject of their mutual converse and their dearest hopes. He also declared that the co-operation of the emperor was certain. This was a great encouragement to Cobden, and he resolved to set about the task. He communicated his plans to Mr. Bright, and the two proceeded to Hawarden Castle, the seat of Sir Stephen Glyn, a relative of Mr. Gladstone, and whom the latter gentleman was then visiting. Mr. Gladstone accorded at once his warmest approval. Cobden then waited upon the Premier, who also sanctioned the enterprise; and the former proceeded at once to Paris, to commence the execution of his difficult but glorious task." The negotiation was long and protracted. In France, a land thoroughly devoted to the doctrine of protection, there were enormous difficulties to be overcome; but the French emperor, it seems, had made up his mind on the subject; and, such being the case, every obstacle in time gave way.

The first indication of the emperor's intention was given in a letter, which, on the 5th of January, he addressed to the Minister of State. In this letter his majesty said, that "notwithstanding the uncertainty which still reigned upon certain points of foreign policy, it was easy to predict with confidence a pacific solution; and the moment had arrived when they could occupy themselves with giving a great impulse to the different branches of the national riches. \* \* \* For a long time the truth had been proclaimed that it was necessary to multiply the means of exchange to render commerce flourishing; that, without concurrence, industry would remain stationary, and keep up those high prices which opposed the increase of consumption; and that agriculture itself, which prospered industry and developed capital, would remain in its infancy." It was therefore necessary to "develop successively the elements of public prosperity, only taking care to ascertain within what limits the state ought to follow the different interests, and what order of preference it ought to accord to each. Before developing their foreign commerce by the exchange of products, agriculture must be ameliorated, and assisted with capital to carry on its works of drainage, and industry must be freed from those internal burdens which placed it in an inferior position. \* \* \* As 160,000,000 francs of the war loan remained unexpended, the legislative body would be asked for authority to employ that sum in public works, and also to sanction the following measures:—The suppression of duties upon wool and cottons, and their gradual reduction upon sugars and coffees; an improvement in the means of communication; a reduction of the duties upon canals, and, as a consequence, a general lowering of the cost of transport; to advance loans to agriculture and manufactures; to undertake works of public utility; to suppress prohibitions; to conclude treaties of commerce with powerful foreign nations. These measures, it was anticipated, would multiply the means of exchange. The successive reduction of duties on articles of great consumption would then be a necessity; as also the substitution of protective duties for the prohibitive system which limited their commercial relations."

The appearance of this letter caused the greatest consternation among the French manufacturers, all of whom were the supporters, not merely of high protective, but of prohibitive duties on foreign goods. At Rouen they threatened to discharge their workmen; and such was the outcry raised, that, on the 18th of January, it was announced in one of the semi-official papers, that the protective and prohibitive duties would not be abolished before July, 1861, when they would be replaced by protective duties of 30 or 35 per cent.; and that before taking any definitive resolution, the emperor would hear the opinion of the principal manufacturers. In many of the commercial towns, such as Bordeaux and Havre, the emperor's letter had a different effect. In those places, the announced abandonment



of prohibition, and the expected improvement of commerce, gave rise to great rejoicings, and banners were displayed as if a great victory had been gained.

On the 23rd of January, the commercial treaty was signed, and was considered very favourable to France. Whilst England agreed, as soon as the ratifications were exchanged, to admit *all* French produce and manufactures free of duty, except wines and brandies (the duties on which were to be reduced), France continued her prohibitive duties until October, 1861, except on coal and iron, and raw materials; and then *ad valorem* imposts, not to exceed 30 per cent., were to be substituted. Coal and iron, so much wanted in France, were to be admitted immediately at reduced duties; and England bound herself not to prohibit the export of the former article. Raw materials were to be admitted duty free, after July, 1861. The treaty was unpopular in both countries; and there was great difficulty in settling the details, and apportioning the duties, which was done by MM. Rouher and Chevalier on the part of France, and Mr. Cobden on the part of England, assisted by committees of the various manufacturing interests. The treaty was to continue in force ten years.

After the successful completion of the French treaty, Lord Palmerston, on the part of her majesty, offered to Mr. Cobden a baronetcy, and a place in the Privy Council. Cobden declined the hereditary rank and the personal honour. He was contented with having performed his duty, and earning the eulogium passed upon him in parliament by Mr. Gladstone, who, in explaining and defending the commercial treaty, said—"With regard to Mr. Cobden, speaking, as I do, when every angry passion has passed away, I cannot help expressing our obligations to him for the labour he has, at no small personal sacrifice, bestowed upon a measure which he, not the least among the apostles of free trade, believed to be one of the most memorable triumphs free trade has ever achieved. Rare is the privilege of any man, who having, fourteen years ago, rendered to his country one signal and splendid service, now again, within the same brief span of life, decorated neither by rank nor title, bearing no mark to distinguish him from the people whom he loves, has been permitted to perform a great and memorable service to his sovereign and his country."

In the House of Commons, the discussion on the treaty was very vehement. It was gallantly defended, however, by Lord Palmerston, Milner Gibson, Mr. Gladstone, and many others. In introducing it to the House in his budget speech of February 10th, Mr. Gladstone said—

"I will not affect to be unaware that many objections have been stated to this treaty. It has even been said that its terms indicate a subserviency to France, and involve a sacrifice of British interests to those of foreign nations, or of a foreign government. Sir, I am thankful to think that no ministry, be its own merits, or be the distinction of its chief what they may, can, in this country, hold office for a single session upon terms involving subserviency to any foreign power whatsoever. There is, with us, a perfect security for the honour of the country (to omit all mention of any other guarantee) in the nature and in the traditions of the two houses of parliament. But, sir, I know not what is meant by subserviency to France as regards the articles of a treaty like this. We have given to France, in the proper sense of the term, nothing by this treaty, if I except some apparent, but very trifling, fiscal sacrifices which we are to make with respect to the single article of brandy. I mean that, perhaps, it might not be necessary for our purposes to reduce the duty to quite so low a point as is fixed by the treaty; and therefore there might be a question whether, in that form, there may be a concession of some infinitesimal advantage. But with that small, and, I believe, solitary exception, we have given nothing to France, by this treaty, which we have not given with as liberal a hand to ourselves. And the changes here proposed, are changes every one of which deserves the acceptance of the House on its own merits, in conformity with all the principles that have been recognised and acted upon for many years past by the legislature.

"But further, sir, as respects the charge of subserviency to France, I know that this treaty may be said to bear a political character. The commercial relations of England and France have always borne a political character. What is the history of the system of prohibitions on the one side and on the other, which grew up between this country and France? It was simply this—that finding yourselves in political estrangement from her at the time of the revolution, you followed up and confirmed that estrangement, both on the one side and the other, by a system of prohibitory duties. And I do not deny that it was effectual for its end. I do not mean for its economical end. Economically it may, I admit, have been detrimental enough to both countries; but for its political end it was effectual. It was because it was effectual that I call upon you to legislate now for an opposite aim, by the exact reverse of that process. And if you desire to knit together in amity these two great nations, whose conflicts have so often shaken the world, undo, for your purpose, that which your forefathers did for their purpose, and pursue, with equal intelligence and consistency, an end that is more beneficial.

"I do not forget, sir, that there was a time once when close relations of amity were established between the governments of England and France. It was in the reign of the later Stuarts: it marks a dark spot in our annals; but the spot is dark because the union was a union formed in a spirit of domineering ambition on the one side, and of base and most corrupt servility on the other. But that, sir, was not a union of the nations, it was a union of the governments. This is not to be a union of the governments apart from the countries; it is, as we hope, to be a union of the nations themselves; and I confidently say again, as I have already ventured to say in this House, that there never can be any union between the nations of England and France except a union beneficial to the world; because, directly that either the one or other of the two begins to harbour schemes of selfish aggrandisement, that moment the jealousy of its neighbours will be aroused, and will beget a powerful reaction; and the very fact of their being in harmony, will of itself be, at all times, the most conclusive proof that neither of them can be engaged in meditating anything which is dangerous to Europe.

"There is another class of objections, of which I do not complain, but which, nevertheless, I hope to remove. There are those who say that a commercial treaty is an abandonment of the principles of free trade. Well, certainly a commercial treaty would be an abandonment of the principles of free trade, in the latitude in which we now employ that phrase, if it involved the recognition of exclusive privileges, or if it were founded on what I may call haggling exchanges. In this sense, I admit that Mr. Pitt's commercial treaty would, if we had now adopted it in the precise terms in which it was expressed, have been, on our part, if not an abandonment of free trade, yet a retrogression rather than an advance; but, at the same time, I cannot mention that treaty without saying that I think it was, for the time at which it was made, one of the very best, and one of the very wisest measures ever adopted by parliament, and that it has contributed, at least as much as any other passage of his brilliant career, to the fame of the great statesman who introduced it. We, however, have no exclusive engagements; we have not the pretence of an exclusive engagement. France is perfectly aware that our legislation makes no distinction between one nation and another; and that what we enact for her, we shall, at the same time, enact for all the world. Nor have we affected to be undertaking burdens in exchange for benefits; we have dealt with the stipulations of the treaty, subject to the slight exception I have named, as being, on both sides, only beneficial throughout.

"I am, however, a little surprised at the number and variety of these objections, which come rushing from all quarters. It is like the ancient explanation of the physical cause of a storm, which taught, by the poet's mouth, that all the winds—north, east, west, and south—come rushing together upon a single point—

"*Una eurusque notus que ruunt creber que procellis Africus.*"



"Sometimes we are told that a treaty is an obsolete and antiquated idea; sometimes that it is a dangerous innovation. In the view of one class, it is an abandonment of free trade. There are also men of another class, holding opinions diametrically at variance with these; and they are gentlemen with whom we shall have much difficulty in dealing. These are they who find fault with it; and that, I must say, is by far the soundest objection, inasmuch as it is, unquestionably, founded on the facts, because it is an abandonment of the principle of protection. This treaty is an abandonment of the principle of protection. I am not aware of any entangling engagements which it contains. It certainly contains no exclusive privilege; but it is an abandonment of the principle of protection; and a means, I hope, tolerably complete and efficacious, of sweeping from the statute-book the chief among such relics of that misnamed system as still remain upon it."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer unfolded his plan, which included a proposal for an extension of the license system to refreshment-houses for the sale of wines; the abolition of the duty on paper, and on numerous other articles; the renewal of the income-tax, at tenpence in the pound on incomes above £150, and sevenpence in the pound on incomes above £100; also other measures: and a fierce contest ensued.

On February 20th, on the motion for going into committee on the Customs' Act, Mr. Disraeli moved an amendment—"That this House does not think fit to go into committee on the Customs' Act, with a view to the reduction or repeal of the duties referred to in the treaty of commerce between her majesty and the Emperor of the French, until it shall have considered and assented to the engagements in that treaty." This amendment was supported by Sir Hugh Cairns, Sir F. Kelly, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Ayrton, Mr. Malins, Mr. S. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Horsman; and opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-general, Mr. Bright, Lord John Russell, and Lord Palmerston; and, on a division, was negatived by 293 to 230 votes. Nor was this the only attempt made to defeat the measure. On February 21st, Mr. Du Cane moved the following resolution:—"That this House, recognising the necessity of providing for the increased expenditure of the coming year, is of opinion that it is not expedient to add to the existing deficiency by diminishing the ordinary revenue; and is not prepared to disappoint the just expectations of the country, by reimposing the income-tax at an unnecessarily high rate." The discussion was continued for three nights. On the third the government gained a decisive victory. The numbers were—for Mr. Du Cane's motion, 223; against, 339.

Subsequent events have confirmed the expectations of those who, in a spirit of enlightened patriotism, planned, and supported, and carried the commercial treaty with France. Fortunately, Mr. Cobden lived to see all the morose vaticinations, both of French and English opponents, disappointed. "He lived," writes his biographer, "to hear from his antagonists their own candid confession of their error; and the French manufacturing classes, who were, five years before, the most protectionist body in Europe, not only vied with the English people in their expression of sorrow at Cobden's death, but it was a common saying of English travellers to France, in the spring and early summer of 1865, that they actually believed the mourning for Cobden occupied more deeply the French bosom than the English." As years roll away, the good effects of the beneficent treaty, on both sides of the Channel, will be better appreciated and understood.

Meanwhile, we must state, that, from papers published by authority, we find that the exports of the French manufactures increased, by important but sober gradations, from 2,266,400,000 francs in value, at which they stood in 1859, the year before the French and English treaty, to 2,924,000,000 in 1864, being an increase of 657,800,000 francs. Descending to the details, we perceive that the cotton, linen, and woollen manufactures, which it was said would suffer most, have not only maintained a regular increase, but, in certain cases, made a startling progress. In respect to these articles, it would have, perhaps, been more satisfac-

tory if the writer of these papers had assigned the proportion of allowance that must be made for increased prices in judging of increased exports by increased values. But, on the other hand, it is to be remembered that the increase of prices, owing to the American war, greatly checked the natural development of trade. In this period, however, of unexampled disturbance, the cottons exported amounted to 26,000,000 francs more in 1864 than in 1859. So in linens, although for these goods France has to import from Belgium and England the raw material, the increase of French exports in the same period was 9,000,000 francs, or more than one-half. Since 1859, also, the woollen industry, which was to be utterly annihilated, has nearly doubled, and the figures with respect to yarns are equally remarkable. In metals France is less richly endowed than any other country in Europe; but although she has to import the raw material, her metallic exports rose in the five years 1,500,000 francs; and that part of them which consisted of machinery, increased no less than 2,700,000 francs. And in all these cases, it is to be remembered that the amount of exports in 1859 was considerably above the average. In chemicals and in fish (about which great fears were entertained), the result was quite as encouraging.

On the whole, the effect of the treaty was, "by the removal of encumbrances (some of which, being indirect in their pressure, were not assignable with precision), to enlarge the extent to which France was able to meet competition, not only in her own, but actually in foreign markets, to an extent and with a rapidity that the most sanguine expectations could hardly have realised." The more precise question, as to whether Great Britain has, in a peculiar manner, profited to the detriment of France, is settled by figures, which show that the increase of French exports to Great Britain is quite as great as the general increase in the totals. In linen alone there is an infinitesimal decrease. In woollens, French exports to this country have increased from 39,178,000 francs to 98,512,000; in cottons, from 5,742,000 to 12,671,000; in metal goods, from 4,395,000 to 8,912,000; in yarns, from 406,000 to 8,842,000; and in fish, from one million of francs to three.

As the budget of the new year was the greatest free-trade budget since the time of Sir Robert Peel, it will not be out of place here to give a few figures from a paper published by the Board of Trade, and which abundantly testify to the blessings accruing to England and her commerce from the liberal commercial policy of late years. It appears that the exports of 1842 were but little in excess of those of the previous thirty years; but while, in 1842, our exports of home produce were worth £113,841,802, in 1865 they were worth £363,067,112. Our imports, in the same period, rose from £65,253,286 to £181,806,048. Then taking our exports of foreign and colonial produce, we find they increased in real value from £18,636,366 in 1842, to £52,995,914 in 1865. The increase of articles of food imported tells a story quite as agreeable. In 1842, we only imported 8,355 cwts. of bacon and hams; but, in 1865, we received 713,346 cwts. No horned cattle were admitted in 1842; but 283,271 came in 1865. Butter—a good test of popular plenty—increased from 175,197 cwts. to 1,083,717; eggs, from under a million, to nearly four; while rice was imported, in 1865, in a quantity nearly four times as great as when these economical changes began. The quantities retained for home consumption of articles still under customs' duties are equally significant, though we will not trouble our readers with the figures. As to exports of British manufactures, that of haberdashery is multiplied, between 1842 and 1865, nearly sevenfold; that of cotton nearly threefold; earthenware, threefold; hardware, more than threefold; leather, sixfold; linen yarns, 100 per cent.; linen manufactures, fourfold; machinery, tenfold; iron and steel, fivefold; tin plates, fourfold; silk, fourfold; woollen yarn, eightfold; woollen manufactures, fourfold. Was there ever a brighter picture? Happily, the navigation laws repeal produced one as bright. British tonnage entered with cargo was 17,413,643 in 1865, against 5,415,821 in 1842; while the foreign tonnage was 7,572,202, against 1,930,983. The building of ships went on, in 1865, to an extent thrice as



great as in 1842; and between 1851 and 1865, our steamship tonnage increased from 186,687 to 823,533. Passing to the excise and customs' duty total, we read, once again, in this document, the happy results on which Mr. Gladstone has so often congratulated the country.

But we must return to the budget. One part of it contained a clause for the repeal of the duty on paper—a duty which had been condemned already by a vote of the Commons. "The paper duty," said Mr. Gladstone, "is a bad duty. In the first place, as a uniform duty on a variable article, how does it operate? It presses on the poorer sorts; and while we find that the duty on fine papers, owing to the growth of literature, is rapidly increasing, on the coarser sorts it does not advance. Look, again, at its operation on literature. On dear books, which are published for the wealthy, it is a very light duty; on books brought out in large quantities, by enterprising publishers, for the middle and lower classes, it is a very heavy and a very oppressive duty. I think the committee will admit that it is a most desirable and legitimate object to promote the extension of cheap literature. I do not speak of newspapers alone, but of newspapers and periodical publications in common with all the other cheap literature which we have seen so greatly enlarged of late, and the character of which, I am bound to say, since the penny stamp on newspapers was removed, has been so highly creditable to the conductors of what is called the cheap press.

"It is hardly possible to describe adequately, except by an amount of detail on which I shall not venture, the manner in which the paper duty obstructs general skill and enterprise. I spoke just now of the production of British and of spurious wines. Strange as it may seem, this subject has a point of contact with the paper manufactures. I am told that, in an inland town, there is a manufacture of British champagne. It is made from rhubarb; and the suggestion has been made, that after the champagne has been extracted from the rhubarb, the residue of pulp or fibre should be made into paper. That is, or seems to be, a recommendation. I believe really, and seriously, that whatever grows and has fibre, might, by skill and enterprise, probably in course of time, be made available, in one mode or another, for the purposes of paper, if it were not for the necessary obstructions offered by the regulations of the excise department.

"But again, what are the purposes to which paper is applicable? Not only those narrow ones with which the ordinary experience of every man makes him familiar. I do not think the committee is aware of the enormous variety of purposes to which this material may, in one form or another, be applied. I have a list of sixty-nine trades, in hardly one of which an ordinary consumer of paper would guess it to be used. For example, it is largely used by anatomical machinists to make artificial limbs; by telescope-makers; by boot and shoemakers; by cap-manufacturers, for the foundation of caps and hats, forming all the peaks, and many of the tops, which look like leather; by china and porcelain manufacturers; by coach-makers; by comb-makers; by doll-makers; by ship-builders. Again, in making optical instruments; in pictures and looking-glasses; in port-manteaus; in Sheffield goods and teapots. One manufacturer writes that he has made panels for doors from paper; and, above all, he looks forward to making carriages of paper when the duty shall have been taken off. Another manufacturer, who is asked into what combinations paper may be made to enter, writes to me—and I think it is a very just and forcible observation—'Who can fix the limit to ingenious combinations when we see india-rubber, for instance, being made into strong and durable combs, and other articles of that sort.' 'Only this morning,' he proceeds, 'I was informed that paper pipes are actually made, prepared with bitumen, and capable of standing a pressure of 300 lbs. of water to the inch.' These are partial, but not uninteresting details; and I think that to which they bear consenting witness, is the unbounded expansion of which this trade is capable, and the way in which we may confer benefits on the working classes, by means of abolishing the charge; not only because they will get paper cheaper, which must

be of advantage to every man who furnishes a cottage, and who desires to give some of his rooms an appearance of comfort and neatness, and to every purchaser of tea and sugar—for into the cost of these, too, it enters when tea and sugar are wrapped in it—but by putting in motion an immense trade, we shall, I trust, give a greater and wider stimulus to the demand for the labour of the country. Above all other benefits, let me say, the great advantage of this change is, in my opinion, and that of her majesty's government, that we may hereby provide a diffused demand for labour, and, in particular, a demand for rural labour; that we shall not merely stimulate the process for massing people together in great centres of industry, but the demand for labour all over the country. Where there are streams, where there are villages, where there is pure and good air, and tolerable access, these are the places in which the paper manufacture tends to establish itself."

Mr. Gladstone then argued against the possibility of being able to preserve the harassing and vexatious excise duty on paper. "The heads of the inland revenue department are completely agreed that there ought to be a repeal of the duty. I asked the gentlemen whom I may call the agitators against the duty, to furnish their reasons in a series of short propositions, in order that I might see how far they could be admitted by the inland revenue. They sent me fifteen arguments, and I transmitted them to the Board of Inland Revenue. The heads of that department replied, that two of the propositions were rather in the nature of general propositions of political economy, upon which they could give no opinion; but that with regard to all the other thirteen, they agreed with the agitators. We are warned by the conclusions of that Board, that we cannot reckon on being able to maintain the duty beyond a certain time. Such are the difficulties raised as to what paper is, and what is not paper; as to what are sheets of fibrous substance, and what are not, that not only is there the greatest soreness among the manufacturers, coupled with the sense of injustice that attends capricious and unequal law, but the officers of the revenue find it more and more difficult to perform their duty; and the maintainers of the law will soon be placed in the same ridiculous position in which they were placed some years ago, when they were found unable to say what was a newspaper. In short, as the paper duty must sooner or later follow the newspaper stamp, for the honour of the law, and for the advantage of the state, we say, let it be sooner, and not later; and we propose that it should follow now."

On March 12th, Mr. Miles moved an amendment on the paper duty, to the effect that it was better to reduce the income-tax by one penny in the pound, than to abolish the paper duties. For the amendment, 192; against it, 245. On May 8th, the Abolition Bill was read a third time, and passed by 219 votes to 209.

In the Lords, the repeal of the paper duty was not regarded with a favourable eye. The peers thought books and newspapers were cheap enough; perhaps they thought a little learning was a dangerous thing. It had been the fashion, in the upper circles of society, to regard newspapers with a very unfavourable eye. A heavy advertisement duty was imposed on them; a prohibitory stamp was levied; and the duty on paper rendered it bad and dear. A society for the repeal of these taxes—commonly called taxes on knowledge—was established, and, in time, triumphed. First, the newspaper duty was repealed; the next battle was on the stamp, now reduced to one penny. A parliamentary committee had reported, in 1851, that news was not a subject for taxation; and thenceforward the agitators for the repeal redoubled their evidence to show that this duty did serious evil; that it was an incentive to ignorance and drunkenness; that a free press must be a good press, and that, in consequence, the intelligence and morality of the country will improve. Men of great experience in literature, acquainted with the management of newspapers, with hardly one exception, concurred in stating how much an unstamped newspaper tended to the moral advancement of the people. Mr. Whitty, the proprietor of the *Liverpool Journal*, stated before the committee—"Previous to the reduction of the price of newspapers in Liverpool to



threepence, in 1847 there came into Liverpool about 20,000 of those threepenny papers weekly; and the moment that we reduced our prices, and sold at the same price, of course we had a decided preference, and the result was that we nearly annihilated that trade; but the trade immediately revived in going up in our prices again, and is now almost as flourishing as ever it was.

"Then you are of opinion that if newspapers were sold at low prices there would be few or no bad publications issued?—Yes, very few indeed. That is my decided opinion after all the reflection that I have given to the subject, and the exercise of the experience that I have had.

"Can you state to the committee some grounds for that assertion?—One is the illustration that I have just given of the effect produced in Liverpool; the other two illustrations are—first, the unstamped publications driving out the obscene trash; and the threepenny papers, which, indeed, have nearly annihilated all that kind of publications.

"You fancy that a purer taste has been created?—Yes, the appetite grows by what it feeds upon; in fact, newspapers are the only things that people will ever read, and that they desire to read: for instance, the working people now can read them only through the public-houses or coffee-houses. In Liverpool we have no coffee-houses, and they must go to the public-houses, and they get them when they are very old.

"Does it follow that the taste for good papers is the most prevalent?—Unquestionably; we find that good is always preferred by the multitude: in a theatre, for instance, and even the speeches delivered in parliament, reported in newspapers, and in literature of every description their taste is natural; in other and the more educated ranks, of course, the taste is, to a great extent, artificial—conventional; it may be bad or it may be good; but the taste of the people I apprehend is always correct.

"Some doubts have been entertained as to the effects of cheapness on the quality; you seem to think that it would do good?—Immense; I should say, decidedly, that in our own case it improved our paper very considerably; besides, the very fact of addressing a larger number would have a great influence upon the writer, as it would have in the same way on an orator: he would exert himself more, and feel more sympathy; that was the case I know always with myself."

The beneficial effect of the repeal of the stamp in promoting morality, was also much dwelt on by Mr. John Cassell.

"The effect of your evidence is this, if I understand you, that it would assist the objects of all those temperance movements, and those moral and religious movements, materially, if their monthly organs or class publications were permitted to contain news and narratives of passing events?—Yes; my opinion is, that if we are allowed to publish news—and I take it from my own experience—for instance, take the temperance movement, here is this periodical coming out month after month, and it is crammed, from one end to the other, with entirely temperance news; it is the same subject over and over again: if we could mix up with this temperance news—letting temperance be its object—general intelligence, our circulation would be four or five times greater than it is now.

"Thus, in fact, aiding the cause of temperance?—Yes, most materially; any one must be aware that an individual, especially amongst the working classes—I speak from my own experience, having associated in my earlier days with the operative classes—a man makes a resolve that he will be temperate, and he has a great deal to contend with in the workshop; and it requires something in the shape of a periodical to stimulate his zeal, and keep him up to high-water-mark."

Similar evidence was also given by Messrs. Bunting; the Norwich operative; the Rev. Thomas Spencer, the well-known advocate of social and political reform; Abel Heywood, the great Manchester bookseller; W. E. Hickson, late proprietor of the *Westminster Review*; Dobson Collett, the secretary of the Society for the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge; and other gentlemen. We make one extract

from the evidence of this latter gentleman, to show that, with a cheap press, we should have it more ably conducted than at present. Sir T. F. Lewis put to Mr. Collett the following questions:—

“Would a reduction in the price enable the proprietors of newspapers to pay more for the literary talent employed?—Undoubtedly.

“Would they not, by paying more liberally, obtain higher literary talent?—Yes. I was told by one of the managers of the *Weekly Dispatch*, that when the law was altered, and the postage reduced to a penny, they had to recast their management; a paper arose at threepence, which contained all the news of the week; and, in order to compete with that paper, they were obliged to engage writers of eminence, who wrote articles which no other paper could produce; and having done so, their paper is now in as firm a position as it was before.”

We could strengthen our case by extending the extracts; but we have given enough. The tax as it existed was utterly bad. The post-office was cheated. Intellectual nutriment was denied the people. The working-man was driven to the public-house for his newspaper. All who wished well to the people—who wished to see intelligence and morality increase in the land—demanded the repeal of the newspaper tax: and it was repealed; and the last of the taxes on knowledge would have shared the same fate had it not been for the Lords. On May 21st, Lord Granville moved the second reading of the Paper Duty Bill, which was opposed by Lord Monteagle, who moved that the bill be read a second time that day six months. The amendment was supported by Lord Lyndhurst and the Earl of Derby. On a division, the numbers were—for the second reading, present, 90; proxies, 14: total, 104. Against—present, 161; proxies, 32: total, 193. Majority against the second reading, 89.

In all parts of the country this act of the Lords was regarded with regret and dislike. The public knew that Messrs. Chambers, of Edinburgh, had been compelled to abandon a cheap and useful publication, which had reached a sale of 80,000, because it did not pay, in consequence of the burden of the paper duty; that the same cause had arrested so many of the noble enterprises of Mr. Charles Knight; that another leading firm had to pay £10,000 a year duty on their publications. People were convinced, moreover, that the Lords retained this tax on paper, after it had been abolished by the Commons, by what was deemed an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. The friends of cheap knowledge were on the alert. A Constitutional Defence Association was formed, of which Mr. White, M.P. for Brighton, was chairman. Numerous petitions were presented to the House of Commons against the aggression of the House of Lords on the privileges of the House of Commons, by rejecting the Paper Duty Bill. One from Birmingham was signed by 10,000 persons. It seemed as if there might be an angry collision between the two Houses. However, the matter was settled by Lord Palmerston's moving the following resolutions, which were ultimately carried:—

“1. That the right of granting aids and supplies to the crown is in the Commons alone, as an essential part of their constitution; and the limitation of all such grants, as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them. 2. That, although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation, by negating the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy, as affecting the right of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the ways and means for the service of the year. 3. That to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, may be maintained inviolate.”

In the Commons, one more fight was made for dear paper. On August 6th,



in debate on the Customs' Act, an amendment was moved by Mr. Pullen, to the effect that it was not desirable, at present, to take any steps for the reduction of the import duty on foreign paper. On division, there voted for the resolution, 266; majority against it, 233. We may add here, that in 1861 the paper duty was quietly repealed.

Another important question agitated now, was that of reform, to which parliament had been pledged times without number. Lord Palmerston, it may be, was not an ardent reformer, but he was quite prepared to carry a measure of reform if the House desired it. Accordingly, on March 1st, Lord John Russell obtained leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation. His lordship said—"We propose to add to the county franchise an occupation franchise of £10 a year." In the boroughs, the franchise was to be lowered to £6. Lord John proposed to deal with the question of disfranchisement as follows:—"The principle of total disfranchisement is one of very grave importance. It ought not to be adopted without some grave and palpable benefit would accrue from it. I cannot think, therefore, that the abolition of some six or seven, or ten boroughs, leaving eight or ten others of a similar character, immediately above them in population, would be a wise or expedient measure. It would evidently create great dissatisfaction among those that are disfranchised; and they would certainly be able to show that other boroughs immediately above them were much of the same description. It is a much milder proposition to say, that at the bottom of the scale there are a certain number of boroughs which may still continue to be represented, but which are now overweighted in the representation; and some of these seats should be given to the more populous towns and larger counties. We therefore propose that boroughs whose names I will read shall no longer send two members to parliament. They are—Honiton, Thetford, Totnes, Harwich, Evesham, Wells, Richmond, Marlborough, Leominster, Lymington, Ludlow, Andover, Knaresborough, Tewkesbury, and Maldon. Thus far, I believe, the list agrees with that contained in the bill of last year. We go on, however, to reform Cirencester, Huntingdon, Chippenham, Bodmin, Dorchester, Marlow, Devizes, Hertford, and Guildford—that gives us twenty-five seats on the whole, which would have to be disposed of by parliament. Now we propose that the following counties shall return additional members—namely, the West Riding of Yorkshire, two additional members. All the rest which I will read are to return one additional member—namely, the southern division of Lancashire, the northern division of Lancashire, the county of Middlesex, the western division of Kent, the southern division of Devonshire, the southern division of Staffordshire, the North Riding of Yorkshire, the parts of Lindsey (Lincolnshire), the southern division of Essex, the eastern division of Somerset, the western division of Norfolk, the western division of Cornwall, and the northern division of Essex. It will be seen that we do not propose to divide the West Riding of Yorkshire; and the reason is, there is a great repugnance in that vast riding to have its magnificence at all diminished by a partition. There will thus be fifteen seats given to counties; of which, though some are of a manufacturing, others are essentially of an agricultural character. Coming to boroughs, we propose that Kensington and Chelsea combined shall form one borough, to return two members to parliament; that Birkenhead, Staleybridge, and Burnley should, in future, return one member each; and that Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds, should henceforth return three members each, instead of two. The House may remember that, upon a former occasion, I made a proposition which was not very palatable to the House, and which was certainly not popular in the country—namely, that there should be a division of votes; in other words, that where there were three members, each elector should have only two votes. As that proposition was not very popular—although I think it a fair and just one—I shall not attempt to renew it upon the present occasion. \* \* \* \* \* Sir, I have stated the distribution of seats which we propose to make with reference to counties and boroughs. But there is another seat at our disposal, and we propose

to give it to a learned body, which contains within it a sort of representation of those who are excluded from the older universities. I mean the University of London."

The second reading led to an animated debate, which was again and again adjourned. On May the 3rd it was read a second time. It was, however, evident that the opponents of the measure were strong enough to destroy it by delay; and, accordingly, on the 11th of June, on the motion for going into committee on it, Lord John Russell intimated to the House that, in consequence of the large number of amendments proposed by members, and the lateness of the session, it had been determined by government to withdraw the bill. The order for going into committee was then discharged. In the upper House, on the motion of Earl Grey, the peers had already agreed to appoint a select committee to inquire into certain matters relating to the representation of the people in the Commons' house of parliament.

In the midst of all these discussions, the important subject, as it was deemed, of national defences was not lost sight of. On August 2nd, the plans for new fortifications were discussed; and a resolution being moved for raising two millions for executing the first portion of the plans, Mr. Lindsay proposed an amendment, to the effect that it is not expedient to enter into a large expenditure on land fortifications; but, on August 9th, the bill was read a second time—an amendment, by Mr. Edwin James, to the effect that further information should be obtained before proceeding with the bill, having been rejected by 143 to 32. Indeed, the Prime Minister left no alternative. His speech of July 8th, on the subject, was quite a panic one. Lord Palmerston said—"Now, sir, as to the necessity for these works. I think it is impossible for any man to cast his eyes over the face of Europe, and to see and hear what is passing, without being convinced that the future is not free from danger. It is difficult to say where the storm may burst; but the horizon is charged with clouds which betoken the possibility of a tempest. The committee, of course, know that. In the main, I am speaking of our immediate neighbours across the Channel; and there is no use in disguising it."

The effect of this speech in France was fully equal to that which it created in England. As Mr. Cobden said—"At that moment, the negotiation of the details of the commercial treaty with France, upon the liberal arrangement of which depended the whole success of the measure, was at its most critical and important stage. The public mind was under considerable misapprehension respecting the progress of the measure, owing to the systematic misrepresentations which were promulgated in certain political circles, and by a portion of the press. The British ministry alone knew that, up to that time, the French government had manifested a disposition to carry out the details of the treaty with even unexpected liberality; and they could not have been unaware how important it was at such a juncture, to preserve a conciliatory tone towards that government. It was at this critical moment that the speech burst upon the negotiators in Paris. Had its object been to place the British commissioners at the greatest possible disadvantage, it could not have more effectually accomplished the purpose. It cut the ground from under their feet, in so far as the French government had been actuated by the political motives (apart from politico-economical considerations) of seeking to strengthen the friendly relations of the two countries, as represented by their governments. This plea of high state-policy, with which the emperor's government had met the complaints of the powerful interests which believed themselves compromised by the treaty, was in a moment silenced and turned against itself. The offensive passages in the speech were instantly transferred to the pages of the protectionist organs, accompanied with loud expostulations addressed to their own government. 'You are sacrificing us,' they said, 'in the hope of conciliating the political alliance of our ancient rival; and now behold the reward you are receiving at the hands of the Prime Minister of England!' These taunts resounded in the *salons* of the enlightened Minister of Commerce; and murmurs were heard even



in the palace itself. A profound sensation was produced among all classes by this speech; and no other words could adequately express the emotions experienced by the French negotiators, but astonishment and indignation. Had the emperor seized the occasion for instantly suspending the negotiations, he would have undoubtedly performed a most popular part; but on this, as on other occasions, his habitual calmness and self-mastery prevailed; and to these qualities must be mainly attributed the successful issue of the treaty." He did more. Aware of the doubts which seemed to pervade all classes of English society, he addressed a letter to Count Persigny, disclaiming any hostile feeling towards this country.

In the meanwhile, in more than one quarter of the globe, the forces of England and France were acting side by side. In the course of the month of June, the European public were struck with horror by the receipt of intelligence from Syria of the massacre of thousands of Christians by the bigoted Mahomedans of the Lebanon. For a couple of months the frightful work was continued. During its progress Abdel Kader gave an asylum to the consuls, and other persons, and armed his followers to protect the Christians as far as possible. The representatives of the five great powers assembled; and, on the 3rd of August, two protocols were signed between those powers and Turkey: the former agreeing to send a military force to restore order in Syria, and the latter assenting to the intervention. It was at first arranged that all the powers were to contribute to the occupying force; but ultimately only 6,000 French troops were sent, and a French and English squadron took up its station off the coast. The massacres had ceased before the French soldiers arrived. On July 31st, Lord Dufferin was sent by the British government to assist in alleviating the misery there prevailing, and in bringing about a restoration of security. On the 20th of August, Fuad Pasha, the commissioner appointed by the sultan to quell the disturbances in Syria, and to punish the guilty, caused 167 persons, implicated in the massacre, to be publicly executed at Damascus, of whom 110 members of the police were shot; and fifty-seven persons were hanged in the most public parts of the city. It was estimated, that in Damascus alone, during the five or six days of the reign of terror, about 5,500 men, women, and children were massacred; and that the total number of persons killed in cold blood by the Druses and Moslems, since the disturbances broke out, was estimated at 12,000: 163 villages, 220 churches, seven convents were destroyed; and 200 priests were butchered. Many of those concerned in these atrocities were sent by Fuad Pasha to Constantinople to be imprisoned, and put to hard labour. The French soldiers assisted in re-establishing order; and their stay in Syria, which was to have ceased in March, 1861, was prolonged, by the consent of the other powers, to June, when they returned to France.

With China we were again at war, though not through our own fault. By the treaty of Tien-tsin, it had been stipulated that the French as well as the English should have liberty, at all times, to travel through all parts of the country; and that the treaties concluded with England and France should be ratified at Pekin, in presence of the ambassadors accredited to the emperor. A small squadron of French and English vessels, acting as a convoy to the ambassadors, proceeded from Shanghai, in June, 1859, to the Peiho river, on their way to the Chinese capital. On arriving off the island of Sha-lin-tien, in the gulf of Pecheli, it was ascertained that the Taku forts had been repaired, additional guns mounted, and a strong Tartar force stationed there. When the allies attempted to proceed up the river, they found their advance obstructed by barriers placed across the stream. After spending several days in negotiations without effect, an attempt was made to force a passage; but there were only eleven small French and English vessels, with guns of light calibre; and after fighting some time they were obliged to withdraw, with the loss of upwards of 600 killed and wounded, and three guns. The ambassadors and the expedition returned to Hong-Kong; and despatches were sent to the governments of Europe, by whom reinforcements were immediately despatched, with orders to force the passage of the Peiho, and proceed to Hong-Kong. Baron

le Gros and Lord Elgin were deputed, as commissioners from France and England, to proceed to that city, and conclude a fresh treaty, which was to include an indemnity for the additional expenses which the bad faith of the Chinese had thrown upon the allies. The commissioners embarked in the *Malabar*, which, when leaving the port of Galle, in the island of Ceylon, was wrecked: the bullion on board, the baggage, with the commissioners' credentials and papers were lost; but the crew, passengers, and part of the mails were saved. Their excellencies proceeded to Hong-Kong, where they arrived on the 21st of June. It was then found that the French contingent was not so strong as that of England by 2,000 men; and that a vessel containing their harness had been lost at Amoy. Baron le Gros, therefore, issued a protest against the expedition proceeding; but Lord Elgin induced him to withdraw it. The expedition sailed on the 26th of July, and reached the Peiho on the 1st of August, when the commissioners established themselves at the village of Pehtang, where they found the northern and southern forts evacuated. The troops commenced their march into the interior on the 12th; attacked and captured a fortified village called Tanghoo on the 14th, taking forty-five guns; and, on the 21st, they attacked and captured the Taku forts, after a determined resistance on the part of the Tartar garrison. Count Montauban commanded the French, and Sir Hope Grant the English forces. The forts were attacked upon a plan proposed by the latter, against the protest of the former, who declared that he would wash his hands of all responsibility should the attack fail. The count's staff were of a similar opinion.

After the capture of the forts, the allies advanced to Tien-tsin, where they were informed commissioners were waiting to negotiate with them. There they experienced more proofs of the Chinese insincerity. A draft of a convention was drawn up, which was to be signed on the 8th of September. When that day arrived, however, after considerable hesitation, the Chinese officials, who had represented that they had full powers, declared they could not affix their signatures till the draft had been submitted to the emperor. Lord Elgin and Baron le Gros immediately broke off the negotiations, and ordered the commander-in-chief to advance to Tang-chow, on the road to Peking. Here they defeated the Chinese army, and took seventy-five guns. The enemy had 600 killed, while the loss of the allies was small: but an event occurred which cast a great gloom over the army. Mr. Parkes, the British consul, was entrapped into a discussion with some Chinese officials at Tang-chow; and though protected by a flag of truce, he and his companions were surrounded by a Tartar force, and carried off prisoners. Mr. Lock (Lord Elgin's private secretary), Captain Brabazon, Lieutenant Anderson, Private Phibbs, M. de Norman (*attaché* to her majesty's legation), Mr. Bowlby (correspondent of the *Times*), the Abbé de Luc, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture (who was on a scientific mission), Colonel Grandchamps, Intendant Debut, M. Arden, several French soldiers, and eight Sikhs, were taken with Mr. Parkes. Some of them died from the inhuman treatment they received.

On the 21st of September, the allies advanced in the direction of Peking, and again encountered and defeated the Chinese, whose loss was estimated at 2,000 killed and wounded. The next day a flag of truce was sent in from Peking, with proposals to reopen the negotiations; but the allied commissioners refused to treat till the prisoners, so treacherously entrapped, were restored. After halting a short time to rest, they, on the 5th of October, had advanced so near Peking, that the emperor, in great haste, had to quit his capital. On the 6th, the emperor's summer palace was taken possession of by the French, who despoiled it of all its splendid ornaments and furniture before the English came up. When the latter arrived they burnt the palace, as a punishment for the violation of a flag of truce. On the 8th, another demand was made for the release of the prisoners; and Messrs. Parkes and Lock, a Sikh soldier, M. l'Escayrac de Lauture, and four French soldiers, were sent into the allied camp. On the 12th, five Sikhs and one French soldier were also allowed to return. The allied army, with its siege-train,



was now concentrated before Peking; and the Chinese were informed, that unless the letters of the convention, drawn up at Tien-tsin, were agreed to, and the gates of Peking thrown open, the capital would be bombarded next day. On the 13th, just before the time allowed had expired, a chief mandarin, Hangchu, announced that the demands of the allies were acceded to, and the gates of Peking at their disposal. The outer and inner gates were immediately taken possession of, and a portion of the allied force was cantoned on the walls of Peking.

Two more Sikh soldiers were given up by the Tartars on the 14th of October; but that was all. The others died of the tortures to which they were subjected, excepting Captain Brabazon and the Abbé de Luc, who were beheaded by the order of one of the Chinese generals, in revenge for a wound he had received. The bodies were all restored except that of Captain Brabazon; and, on the 17th, they were buried with due solemnity in the Russian cemetery outside Peking. On the 24th of October peace was concluded, when the English treaty was signed. The terms were—a renewal of those agreed to at Tien-tsin in 1858, with the addition of articles stipulating the payment of an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and to the families of the men who had been betrayed and murdered; opening the port of Tien-tsin to the trade and commerce of French and British subjects; removing the interdict to the emigration of the Chinese to the colonies of the allies; and ceding Cowloon to the British crown, as a dependency on Hong-Kong. The treaty signed and ratified, the allies left Peking for Tien-tsin on the 1st of November, where the troops remained till the middle of 1861. There has been, however, no further dispute with the Chinese. Indeed, in a little while after, we were astonished to find that we were fighting against the Taepings, on behalf of our late enemies. In March, 1861, Mr. Bruce arrived at Peking, to take up his residence as British plenipotentiary; and we have been on decent terms with China ever since.

And thus passed away the memorable year 1860. Whatever we may think of the legislation of that year, we must all concur in the opinion that it was no ordinary year in the financial history of the country. It was, as Mr. Gladstone subsequently remarked, “a year in which the House gave its sanction to that great instrument, the treaty of commerce with France. It was a year in which we received a remission of our hereditary burdens through the diminution of the charge on the national debt, such as we probably shall never receive again. It was a year in which the controversy with respect to protection, so long the leading cause of agitation in the country, and of political disorganisation in this House, may be said to have been at length officially wound up; for it closed without leaving on the statute-book of the United Kingdom one single properly protective duty of more than nominal amount. It was also a year of the highest taxation, and of the greatest expenditure, that has ever been known in this country, unless in the midst of a European war. And, finally, it was a year marked by a succession of seasons—the spring, the summer, the autumn, and the winter—the most unfavourable of all with which it has pleased Providence to visit us during the course of about half a century. The questions, I may further observe, which were decided in the House during the last session, were questions of no ordinary moment, from whatever point of view we may regard them. The issue which they raised was no trifling issue. In the beautiful tragedy of Schiller, Mary, Queen of Scots, is made to say of herself, ‘I have been much hated, but I have been also much beloved;’ and I think I may say, with equal truth, that the financial legislation of last year, while I do not mean to contend that it was not unacceptable to many, met, as a whole, with signal support from a great mass and power of public opinion in the country. Be that as it may, I feel bound to admit, that although the financial proposals of the government were, in the last session, fully, minutely, and even keenly canvassed, they were also fairly, and in no factious spirit, discussed within these walls.” This testimony is true. In our modern history, it is evident 1860 was no common year.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## POPULATION, EDUCATION, AND THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE England of Palmerston's old age was very different from that of his youth, as regards population. In 1861, the census had taken place, and many interesting facts gathered. The town or village of Birkenhead, at the census of 1801, numbered 101 persons. After the lapse of sixty years, so rapid has been the advance in this thriving, vigorous town, that we find the number of inhabitants to be no less than 51,649 at the last census of 1861. Manchester, with Salford, sixty years ago, numbered 24,867 inhabitants; by the last census (1861), the number rose to 441,171, having increased nearly seventeen times in population during the present century. Cheltenham, within the last sixty years (1801—1861), has increased nearly twelve times; Brighton, nine times; Merthyr-Tydvil and Bradford, seven times; Burnley and Preston, about six times; whilst Southampton and Ashton-under-Lyne have increased nearly sixfold their population.

The following cities or towns have quintupled their population during the first sixty years of the nineteenth century—namely, Liverpool and Blackburn; whilst Huddersfield, Northampton, and Rochdale, have very nearly added a fivefold addition.

The following cities or towns have quadrupled their population:—Dudley, Bolton, Stoke-upon-Trent, Birmingham, Sheffield, Swansea, Bury, Leicester, and Derby.

The following have added nearly a fourfold addition in the last sixty years (1801—1861)—namely, Leeds, Gateshead, Plymouth, Stockport, and Walsall.

The following cities or towns have trebled their population:—Wigan, Macclesfield, Ipswich, Oldham, Hull, Newcastle-on-Tyne, South Shields, Dover, Carlisle, Halifax, Sunderland, London, and Maidstone.

The following have added nearly a threefold addition—namely, Portsmouth, Chatham, Worcester, Reading, Cambridge, Coventry, Nottingham, and Tyne-mouth.

The following cities or towns have doubled their population in sixty years (1801—1861)—namely, Bristol, Oxford, York, Warrington, Wakefield, Chester, Norwich, Yarmouth, and Wolverhampton; whilst Exeter and Bath have nearly added a twofold as an addition to their population in the present century.

The number of persons residing in the British Islands on the 8th of April, 1861, was 29,058,888. The men in the army, navy, and merchant service, out of the country, either abroad or afloat, amounted to about 275,900. We may therefore set down the total population of the United Kingdom, including the Channel Islands and Isle of Man, this census year, at 29,334,788; their distribution being as follows:—

England and Wales	...	...	...	...	...	20,061,725
Scotland	...	...	...	...	...	3,061,329
Ireland	...	...	...	...	...	5,792,055
Islands in the British Seas	...	...	...	...	...	143,779
At home	...	...	...	...	...	29,058,888
Out of the country—Army, about	...	...	...	...	...	137,000
"    "    "    Navy	...	...	...	...	...	42,900
"    "    "    Merchant seamen, about	...	...	...	...	...	96,000
Total United Kingdom	...	...	...	...	...	29,334,788



As the population in 1801, when the first census was taken, was estimated at 16,095,000, we find, at the end of sixty years, more than 13 $\frac{1}{4}$  millions had been added to the resident inhabitants of the country.

But in this rate of progression there had been a falling off. During the years 1801 to 1831, the rate of increase was more than twice as fast as that shown by the returns of 1831 to 1861. The principal cause of this falling off is to be attributed to emigration. Since 1831, nearly 5,000,000 of emigrants had left the country; of these, no doubt, some returned, and many were foreigners: but the number is exclusive of emigrants who embarked in ships not coming under the notice of the government inspectors. The fecundity of marriages in this country is a subject which cannot be fully investigated upon the present imperfect data; but we have no reason to believe it is diminishing. The ratio of births to population exhibits no falling off. In France, it is well known, that while the rate of marriage has increased, the marriages are less prolific.

The females preponderate: yet it is a fact, that in Great Britain, of children born alive, 105 boys are born to 100 girls; and the proportion in France is the same. The males continue to preponderate until their seventeenth year, when the number of the two sexes are nearly equal. At all subsequent ages the females are in excess of the males; the change in the proportions being mainly due to a difference in degree of dangers to which they are exposed; to a lower rate of mortality amongst females, from diseases, as well as from violent causes, and to emigration. The disparity of the sexes has always been regarded as one of the least satisfactory conditions of our population; but in a country where more than 3,000,000 of adult women are withdrawn, more or less, from domestic duties to follow employments in the different manufactures and trades, the evil is not without some mitigation. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that, in Australia and other British colonies, the proportion of the sexes is unfortunately reversed to such an extent as to render a well-organised system of female emigration extremely desirable. In Scotland, the excess of females is still greater. The Scotch are an emigrating people; their love of adventure and independence distributes them over the face of the earth; and as the Scotchman goes forth alone, the resident population contains an undue proportion of females. As a matter of course, there are fewer marriages in Scotland; and the proportion of women bearing legitimate children, is much smaller in Scotland than in England. This circumstance partly explains why the Scottish people have not increased at an equal rate with the English. In the towns of Scotland, however, the proportion of marriages is much higher than in the naval parts, and the population is increasing accordingly.

The commercial legislation of later years is fully justified by the returns of the census. It brings to our view two classes of localities—those in which the population has increased, and those in which it has diminished. Of the 631 superintendent registrars' districts, no less than 248 had decreased. These were almost exclusively agricultural. But the districts comprising the great seats of manufacturing, mining, and commercial industry, maintained their rate of increase; and some of them made astonishing advances. For example, the group of districts having Manchester for a centre, has an augmented population to the extent of 274,000; Birmingham, with its immediate locality, increased 187,000; and the extension of mining operations on the Tyne, led to an increase in Newcastle and the adjoining district, of 158,000. Lancashire had increased 20 per cent.; Durham 30 per cent. Other instances of a great development of numbers are—Staffordshire, 23 per cent.; Surrey, 22; Kent, 19; Middlesex, 17; West Riding of Yorkshire, 14; Glamorganshire, 37. The enormous growth of the metropolis, which may now be said to extend far beyond the limits adopted in the Local Management Act, and by the registrar-general, will explain the high rates of increase in Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent. The inhabitants of London are now returned as amounting to 2,803,034; the addition, during the last decennium,

having been 440,798, or 19 per cent. But we may fairly credit the metropolis with a portion of the increase in West Ham, Croydon, Kingston, Richmond, Brentford, Edmonton, and other districts, which are largely inhabited by persons engaged in business in London, with those who minister to their wants.

London is one of the eleven divisions into which England and Wales have been divided for the purposes of statistical comparison. These divisions are on the same scale as the four provinces of Ireland, and their main features correspond with the earlier divisions of the country. Arranged in the order of their rates of increase since 1851, they stand thus—

	Increase per Cent.
London ... ..	19
Northern division ( <i>Durham, Northumberland, &amp;c.</i> ) ...	19
North-west division ( <i>Cheshire and Lancashire</i> ) ...	18
West Midland ( <i>Gloucester, Salop, Stafford, &amp;c.</i> ) ...	14
South-eastern division ( <i>Surrey and Kent, extra metrop., Sussex</i> ) ...	13
Yorkshire division ... ..	13
Welsh division ... ..	11
North Midland ( <i>Leicester, Lincoln, Notts.</i> ) ...	6
South Midland ( <i>Middlesex, extra metrop., Herts.</i> ) ...	5
Eastern division ( <i>Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk</i> ) ...	3
South-western ( <i>Wilts., Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, Somerset</i> )	2

These figures point to the localities where the tide of population has ebbed, and to the direction in which it has flowed. A table exhibited, in parallel columns, the ascertained increase, and the natural increase, or excess of births over deaths in each of these eleven districts. A comparison of the numbers affords some idea of the extent of migration to the principal centres of trade, manufactures, and mining industry, chiefly from the inland districts. The absolute increase in London we have seen to be 440,708. The excess of registered births over deaths was only 253,989; and although this is an under-statement, on account of the unregistered births, a large proportion of the difference, 186,809, consists of immigrants. Nor can we be surprised at this further instalment of strangers when we recollect that more than half the inhabitants of London were born elsewhere. In the following divisions the actual increase exceeded the natural increase as follows:—North-western, 138,262; northern counties, 29,461; south-eastern, 21,468.

In the West Midland district, the difference between births and deaths is the same, within a few hundreds. All the remaining divisions presented indications of having been exposed to a drain of population, which, in some cases, has swept away nearly the whole of the natural increase; and, in several of the counties, large numbers besides. Thus, in the eastern division, consisting of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, the natural increase was 129,726; while the ascertained increase was only 28,220; to which number the district of West Ham contributed nearly 25,000. In the south-western division, consisting of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Cornwall, and Somerset, the natural increase was 200,673; and as the actual increase was only 32,290, it is clear that persons representing the difference of 168,383, have left these counties to seek employment, or the means of improving their condition in other parts, at home or abroad. The localities thus discovered by the census to have been partly denuded of their population, are entitled to the credit of having bred the stalwart men whose labour has proved so useful elsewhere. The decrease so general throughout the agricultural districts, has been greatest in the counties of Cambridge, Rutland, Norfolk, Wilts, and Suffolk. Anglesey and Montgomery, in Wales, also sustained a loss. Their decrease may have resulted from the use of machinery, and from the substitution of the breeding of stock for tillage; still it is clear the main cause has been the fact, that in the manufacturing districts



labour was better paid, and the operative could lead a better life; and this fact had been remembered by the Liberal administration, of which Lord Palmerston, at this time, was the head. In times past it was otherwise. We tamely tolerated injustice; and what Disraeli calls the territorial system of government was the result. When Old Sarum was young—when Gattton's solitary mound had a stake in the country—when Manchester barely had a "local habitation and a name"—when to travel from Wales to the metropolis took more time than it does now to travel from the metropolis to Vienna—then the old system answered. It did not ruin the manufacturers, for there were none to ruin. It did not starve the millions, for there were no millions to starve. The serf repined not at his degradation, for the iron had entered into his soul; and, in his hopes and aspirations, he had almost ceased to be a man. But times altered; men increased and multiplied; great cities became the centres of civilisation and industry; science had gone forth to make life happier for the masses; and the change had extended even to the highest offices of the state. The truth is, under the old rural system—under the sway of the rosy-cheeked squires, as Carlyle called them—the country was rapidly going to the bad. The legislator was as ignorant as those for whom he legislated. Our readers may remember the terrible protest of the Rev. Charles Kingsley, in his *Yeast*, against the old state of things; of which, happily, now little trace remains. The houses and degradation of the peasantry were sketched with a masterly hand. What could have been sadder or truer than the picture of the widow watching where her husband was slain; and exclaiming—

- “ I am long past wailing and whining—  
I have wept too much in my life;  
I've had twenty years of pining  
As an English labourer's wife.
- “ A labourer in Christian England,  
Where they cant of a Saviour's name,  
And yet waste men's lives like the vermin's  
For a few more brace of game.
- “ There's blood on your new foreign shrubs, squire;  
There's blood on your pointer's feet;  
There's blood on the game you sell, squire,  
And there's blood on the game you eat!
- “ You have sold the labouring man, squire,  
Body and soul to shame,  
To pay for your seat in the House, squire,  
And to pay for the feed of your game.
- “ You made him a poacher yourself, squire,  
When you'd give neither work nor meat;  
And your barley-fed hares robbed the garden  
At our starving children's feet.
- “ When packed in one reeking chamber,  
Man, maid, mother, and little ones lay;  
While the rain pattered in on the rotting bride-bed,  
And the walls let in the day:
- “ When we lay in the burning fever  
On the mud of the cold clay floor,  
Till you parted us all for three months, squire,  
At the cursed workhouse-door:
- “ We quarrelled like brutes, and who wonders?  
What self-respect could we keep,  
Worse housed than your hacks and your pointers,  
Worse fed than your hogs and your sheep?

“ ‘ Our daughters, with base-born babies,  
Have wandered away in their shame;  
If your misses had slept, squire, where they did,  
Your misses might do the same.

“ ‘ Can your lady patch hearts that are breaking  
With handfuls of coals and rice,  
Or by dealing out flannel and sheeting  
A little below cost price?

“ ‘ You may tire of the gaol and the workhouse,  
And take to allotments and schools,  
But you’ve run up a debt that will never  
Be repaid us by penny-club rules.

“ ‘ In the season of shame and sadness,  
In the dark and dreary day,  
When scrofula, gout, and madness  
Are eating your race away;

“ ‘ When to kennels and liveried varlets  
You have cast your daughter’s bread,  
And, worn out with liquor and harlots,  
Your heir at your feet lies dead :

“ ‘ When your youngest, the mealy-mouthed rector,  
Lets your soul rot asleep to the grave,  
You will find in your God the protector  
Of the freeman you fancied your slave.’ ”

Fortunately, the worst consequences of the system were modified by the harmless character of the abilities of the rustic squire. He hunted, and sported, and rode well, partly because he liked it, and partly because his father did so before him. He was a country magistrate; and quite as often committed himself as the culprits who trembled before him. Often, to his great annoyance, he was compelled to represent his county in parliament, because no one else would undertake the bore. Of course, he distributed coals and blankets at Christmas; and his estate was well set with man-traps and spring-guns. He was a zealous churchman, and hated alike the foreigner and the pope. Having vegetated his appointed threescore years and ten, he was gathered to his fathers; and the county paper of the next Saturday devoted a paragraph to the record of his uneventful life. If there was more energy in the man—a love of distinction, that, in the lower walks of life, would have made him a useful member of society—it vented itself in a thousand silly ways; in the stupid jokes and childish absurdities of that class of men of whom the Marquis of Waterford was a type. Out of such raw material good legislation was impossible. The government of such was marked by monstrous injustice and wanton extravagance in every age of its career. It placed us on the brink of ruin: it overwhelmed us with debt: it filled our towns with Chartists, and our colonists with the seeds of revolt. Over the decline of rural life, and the rise of towns, no lover of his race need pause to shed a tear.

The education of the people, also, at this time, was the subject of very serious consideration. In 1858, a commission was appointed by her majesty, in compliance with an address from the Commons’ house of parliament, “to inquire into the present state of popular education in England; and to consider and report what measures (if any) are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of the people.” The commissioners named were—the Duke of Newcastle, Sir John Taylor Coleridge, Rev. William Charles Lake, M.A., Rev. William Rogers, M.A., Professor Goldwin Smith, Nassau William Senior, Esq., and Edward Miall, Esq. The commissioners were instructed to make their report within two years from the date of their appointment, but this period was subsequently extended for another year. The report of the commissioners,



embodying the facts they had collected, and the recommendations which they suggested, was agreed upon, and signed by them, in March, 1861; and having been submitted to her majesty, was presented to both houses of parliament, and published for the information of the public.

The commissioners, in carrying out the object of their appointment, found it expedient to employ, with the sanction of government, ten assistant commissioners, to each of whom a specimen district was assigned, into the educational condition of which he was to examine most minutely. The commissioners' report was in six divisions. 1. The subjects connected with the education of the independent poor. 2. The education of paupers. 3. The education of vagrants and criminals. 4. Naval and military schools connected with the state. 5. Educational charities; and charities which may be made applicable to education. 6. Statistical returns, so as to illustrate the course of the report. The results may be abridged as follows:—National Society, expending £15,811; British and Foreign School Society, £15,947; Catholic Poor School Committee, £4,745; Wesleyan Education Committee, £4,441; Home and Colonial School Society, £8,776; Church Education Society, £2,761; Congregational Board of Education, £1,977; London Ragged School Union, £5,142; and the Voluntary School Association. There were likewise twenty-four diocesan Boards of Education connected with the church of England. Of these, the first, that of Durham, was established in 1811. These Boards had twenty training colleges under their superintendence.

Of training colleges, there were, in England and Wales, thirty-four. Two of them, Lichfield and Homerton, did not receive government aid. Of thirty under government inspection in 1858, thirteen were for male teachers, thirteen for female teachers, and four for both male and female teachers. The total amount of government grants to these schools, exclusive of building grants, was, to the end of 1858, £225,337 7s. 4d.; the total cost of building, enlarging, and improving the colleges, amounted to £334,984 3s. 9d., of which government contributed £101,641 6s. 6d.; the total income was, in 1858, £94,734 1s. 3d., of which £50,518 5s. 4d. was received from government. With the exception of female teachers for infant schools, the supply of teachers from these training institutions was found to be equal to the demand.

Of the infant schools founded by Robert Owen, and improved by Wilderspin, the commissioners report—"It appears to follow that infant schools form a most important part of the machinery required for a national system of education, inasmuch as they lay the foundation, in some degree, of knowledge, and, in a still greater degree, of habits which are essential to education; while, without them, a child may contract habits, and sustain injuries, which the best school afterwards will be unable to correct and remedy." Besides these public infant schools, there are found, in almost all parts of the country, private or dames' schools, which are frequently little more than nurseries, in which the nurse collects the children of many families into her own house, instead of attending upon the children of some one family. Here congregate the

"Infants of busy, humble wives, who pay  
Some trifling price for freedom through the day."

The education given in such schools is generally wofully deficient, as might be expected in such cases, where the teachers are aged females, or unqualified persons, who have taken to teaching as a last resource. The children are collected together—it may be in one room, which is the only apartment of the schoolmistress. "Scholars may be often seen sitting round the sides of a four-post bed, on low forms, the sides of the bed forming a back to the seat; sometimes on the sides of the bed. The room is often so small that the children cannot stand in a semicircle round the teacher." Trained infant school mistresses are, as yet, few in number. The Home and Colonial School Society has, for some years, directed special attention to this department of training; and some of the recently in-



stituted normal schools are assisting to prepare a large number of properly qualified mistresses for infant schools: but more enlarged efforts in this direction are urgently needed; and the commissioners earnestly recommend that the committee of council devote its attention, and give its powerful aid, to the supply of this want.

Of 1,895 public schools in the ten specimen districts, 10·8 per cent. were infant schools; of the scholars, 31 per cent. were between three and seven years of age. In 1858, according to an estimate made by the commissioners, who applied to the schools in the whole country the ratios obtained from the ten specimen districts, it may be assumed that there were, in England and Wales, 58,975 week-day schools, affording instruction to 2,535,462 children; of which number about one-eighth may be reckoned as belonging to the middle and upper classes, and the remaining seven-eighths to the poorer classes. Of this army of two millions and a half, of which about a million may be reckoned as infants under seven years of age, 400,000 are drafted off annually into general society, to take their place in the busy scenes of life.

The Sunday-school system was established by Robert Raikes, of Gloucester, but little more than eighty years ago. The number in England and Wales, in 1833, was 16,828, containing 1,548,890 scholars. In 1858, the number was estimated at 33,872, with 2,411,554 scholars. This class of schools may or may not be very valuable. Their usefulness must, to a great degree, depend upon that of the teachers, who are chiefly voluntary, and, in many cases, young and inexperienced, and not thoroughly alive to the work. In Wales, the Sunday scholars comprise adults as well as children; men and women, advanced in life, are frequently found among the classes. In some parts of the South Wales district, more than half of the population attended the Sunday-schools in 1858, the general average being upwards of one-third; and of these half were above fifteen years of age. This statement will be better understood by comparing it with the fact that, in 1858, the number of Sunday scholars, in England, was about one-eleventh of the population. In Rochdale and Bradford, which may be taken as representatives of the large manufacturing towns of Leicestershire and Yorkshire, the Sunday scholars include a large proportion of adults. At Bradford, about one-fourth, and at Rochdale nearly one-third, of the female scholars were above fifteen years of age. In the Welsh Sunday-schools, the text-book is the Bible, which is read through, chapter by chapter, verse by verse; and questions and answers as to the meaning of the passage under consideration, are freely interchanged between the master or leader and the members of the class, or between the members themselves. At the close of the exercise, the teacher usually sums up the opinions which have been expressed, and gives his own views, with his reasons. The younger classes are chiefly occupied in learning to read, and in repeating psalms and verses of scripture which they have committed to memory. To the proficient in such exercises prizes are occasionally awarded.

In 1858, it was estimated that there were, in England and Wales, 2,036 evening schools. Not only to the mere labourer is evening instruction accessible and useful: the evening classes in King's College, London; the evening classes for young men in the city of London; the classes in connection with the London Mechanics' Institution and the Working Man's College, in which, in all, about 2,000 students enjoy the benefit of a superior education in the evening, are admirable examples of the adaptation of this class of school to the requirements of the age in which we live.

In March, 1860, the number of children in workhouse schools was 30,654. It is estimated by the commissioners, that at least 100,000 out-door pauper children receive no education whatever. Of this aggregate of 100,000 children, more than 8,000 are added annually to the adult population. The commissioners say, that the most of these are divided between the gaol and the workhouse: they form the hereditary pauper and criminal class. To some extent the cause of this



lamentable circumstance may be found in the kind of training which children in workhouses have been accustomed to receive. They have been allowed to associate freely with the adults, many of whom have spent years in crime, and the force of whose pernicious example operates more or less on all. Some of the assistant commissioners, however, give emphatic testimony to the efficacy of the instruction given in workhouse schools in their districts. Mr. Fraser, who reported in reference to one of the specimen agricultural districts, states that the instruction is not ambitious in its range, but thoroughly sound of its kind. Mr. Hedley, who had charge of the other specimen agricultural district, remarks that the boys in the workhouse schools are superior to the boys in the elementary day schools in their educational acquirements. This may arise from the enforced regular attendance, and the smallness of the number of boys generally under one teacher. Mr. Hedley adds, that one beneficial effect of industrial training in workhouse schools, is found in the improved health and spirits of the boys. A promising experiment has been made, of late years, which has already justified, to a great extent, the hopes of its promoters. In 1841, the poor-law commissioners established a system of district schools, six of which are in operation, and have been eminently successful. In these schools, the children from contiguous parishes, or unions, are collected together, and placed under competent instruction, industrial as well as intellectual, and under efficient superintendence; and it has been found, that whereas, from the ordinary workhouse schools, about 50 or 60 per cent. of the scholars have grown into paupers or criminals, from the scholars in district schools the pauper and criminal class have only received about 2 per cent. Besides these large district schools, in which, in March, 1860, there were 2,549 scholars, there are what are called separate schools. Of these, the number, in March, 1859, was nineteen, educating 4,381 scholars; making a total of 7,063 pauper children under an efficient course of education. An example of a separate school may be quoted in that of Stepney, which, in five years, educated and found situations for 229 boys, of whom 216 retained their situations, and were reported as doing well. The Poor-Law Board, in its annual report for 1860--'61, says—"Although some difficulties may occasionally arise in the management of separate establishments for children, their maintenance and education in schools removed from the associations of a workhouse are so manifestly advantageous, that it appears highly desirable to promote the formation of such schools in all practicable cases."

Relative to ragged, industrial, and reformatory schools, the commissioners report as follows:—"There are, in England and Wales, 192 week-day ragged schools, containing 20,909 children, of whom 10,308 are males, and 10,601 females. The average number of children in each school is 108.9. There are fourteen evening ragged schools, containing 707 scholars; 493 males, and 214 females. The London Ragged School Union was founded in 1854. Its total income, in 1859, was £5,142. Of the industrial schools there are eighteen certified under the acts of parliament referring to such institutions, which contain 1,193 inmates, of whom 574 are males, and 619 females; 171 of the whole number were received under sentence of magistrates. The income of the schools for 1860, was £20,599 19s. 9d. Of uncertified industrial schools there are thirty-six, with 2,822 children, of whom 1,647 are males, and 1,175 females; and a total income of £21,541 4s. 9d. for 1860. The total number of reformatories in England and Wales, certified under the Reformatory Act, was forty-seven in May, 1860, with 2,594 inmates on the 31st of December, 1859, and an aggregate expenditure of £74,361 1s. 9d. in 1858. About £2,000 a year is now received from the parents of juvenile criminals, for their support in reformatories." The commissioners speak highly of the efficiency of reform schools. "Upon the whole, none of the institutions connected with education appear to be in a more satisfactory condition than the reformatories. We have no recommendations to make respecting them; as, apart from the excellent manner in which they appear to be working, their establishment is still so recent, that the time for such alterations as may be required has not yet arrived."



In 1859, the total average number of soldiers whose names were on the books of regimental schools, was 11,195; but the average daily attendance was only 3,934. In the schools for the children of non-commissioned officers and privates, in 1858, the number of children under instruction was 11,062. In both kinds of schools small fees are charged. At the school for boys in Woolwich Arsenal, out of 1,300 boys from ten to eighteen years of age, employed in the arsenal, the average attendance at the school, in 1858, was 621. In the normal school for regimental schoolmasters, in the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea, there are forty students in training. The number of trained schoolmasters at present in the army, is 244; and of trained schoolmistresses, 242. In the Royal Military Asylum, or Duke of York's School, there are about 500 boys under instruction. In ships of the navy, having a complement of not less than 300 men, schools are established; but they are not generally very efficient. Besides these, there are schools for apprentices and factory boys in the naval dockyards, which had under instruction 441 apprentices and 599 factory boys in 1859; schools on board ships in harbours; royal marine schools, for preparing boys for service in the navy; and Greenwich Hospital schools, in which 800 boys—sons of deceased and disabled seamen—receive education, and where nautical studies form a prominent feature.

From the report, we gather that, in all the specimen districts, and also throughout the kingdom, considerable improvement has taken place with regard to the relative number of children attending school. In the ten specimen districts, taken together, the number of scholars attending public and private week-day schools, in 1851, was 1 in 9·09 of the whole population; in 1858, the number was equal to 1 in 7·83 of the population. For England and Wales, in 1858, the proportion was estimated at 1 in 7·7. These figures may be usefully compared with the proportion of scholars to the population in France, which is 1 in 9; in Holland, 1 in 8·11; and in Prussia, under a system of compulsory education, where the proportion reaches 1 in 6·27.

From the returns obtained from the specimen districts, it would appear, that of every hundred children actually under instruction in public schools, 3, and in private schools, 5·4 are under three years of age; 19·8 in public, and 34·7 in private schools, are from three to six years of age; 47·6 in public, and 40·8 in private, are from six to ten years of age; 24·2 in private, and 14·5 in public schools, are from ten to thirteen years of age; and 5·4 in public, and 4·6 in private schools, are above thirteen years of age. It appears that six years is the average attendance at schools. The average daily attendance at public week-day schools, in the specimen districts, and probably throughout the whole country, is about 76 per cent. of the number of scholars on the books. Wales presents the lowest ratio, attendance being 71·9 per cent. The highest average is in the Lancashire and Yorkshire manufacturing districts, where it is 82·4 per cent.—an amount of attendance secured chiefly in consequence of the adoption of the half-time system. The ratio of attendance in private week-day schools is much higher, being 84·8 per cent. Sunday-schools show an average attendance of 74·2 per cent. Evening schools, 67·6 per cent. The Sunday-school attendance, as we may expect, is highest in Wales, being 80·9 per cent. It is lowest in Bradford and Rochdale, being 67·3 per cent.

"The following calculation," says a writer in the *British Almanac* for 1862, from which we have quoted largely, "may be taken as a rough outline of the history of the course of education of the typical English schoolboy, deduced from the preceding statements:—He is at school for nearly six years, when he is between six and twelve years of age; he attends about seven hours daily, for about 150 days in the year, and changes his school every other year. This is exclusive of his Sunday attendance. He has thus about 900 days' schooling, at an average cost to his parents of about 4*d.* a week, or £2 10*s.* for the whole period."

With regard to the quality of the instruction given, the same writer adds—"The various subjects of education are commonly taught, in the common day-



schools, in a very unpractical way. With respect to reading, it was found, in the specimen districts, that a larger proportion of scholars were being taught reading than any other subject in the week-day and Sunday-schools; in the evening schools, about an equal proportion were learning reading and writing. A considerable number acquire the mere art of reading with considerable ease; but there is a lamentable want of the faculty of understanding what is read. This it is often considered not within the teacher's province to care for. Writing and arithmetic are also, in many cases, taught in a very imperfect and mechanical manner." The scholars appear to be taught little to help them in their future career. Political economy is avoided. About 1 per cent. of the male scholars only are taught mechanics. Now, the greater number of these scholars become labourers; they will be constantly using machines and tools: but in consequence of their ignorance of the mechanical laws which govern matter, an immense amount of their labour will be uselessly expended.

The commissioners recommend certain alterations in the conditions on which grants are made to the schools of the independent poor, and also in the mode of providing the amount required for maintaining these schools. They recommend that the grants shall be regulated by the opinion formed by the inspector as to the discipline, efficiency, and general character of the school; and also on the proficiency in reading, writing, and arithmetic, displayed by the scholars in the examinations before the inspector (plain work being added in the case of girls), and to be reckoned only in respect of such children as have attended school at least 140 days in the year preceding the day of examination. Other suggestions and recommendations are made by the commissioners, some of which have been, with modifications, embodied in the minutes of the committee of the Privy Council on education, establishing a revised code of regulations, adopted July the 21st, 1861, and appointed to come into full operation after the 31st of March, 1862. In this code, the object of the educational grants is stated to be, to promote the education of the children belonging to the classes who support themselves by manual labour; and every school assisted from the grants must either be a school in connection with some recognised religious denomination, or a school in which, besides regular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily from the authorised version. By Article 40, the managers of day-schools may claim, per scholar, one penny for every attendance after the first hundred at the morning or afternoon meetings; and after the first twelve at the evening meetings of their school, within the year ending the last day of the month preceding that fixed for the inspector's annual visit. Attendance under half-time acts may be multiplied by two to make up the remainder. One-third part of the sum thus claimable is forfeited if the scholar fail to satisfy the inspector in reading; one-third if in writing; and one-third if in arithmetic respectively. Article 46 specifies certain conditions, which, if not satisfied, the school will not receive any grant. And Article 47 specifies certain defects in the efficiency of the school, or in its arrangements, which will entail a reduction of the grants. Hitherto the teacher received the amount of the government grant in addition to his salary from the managers; but by the new code, the money was to be given to the managers, who were to make their own arrangement with the teacher. The new code created considerable dissatisfaction. Its advocates argued that it presented a greater stimulus to the really meritorious and efficient teacher; that it tended to secure to the scholars the best efforts of their teachers in imparting the elements of a sound practical education, and thus to raise the standard of elementary instruction throughout the kingdom. The storm was fierce, and lasted long; and, in consequence of it, Mr. Lowe resigned his seat in connection with the educational department, notwithstanding the support he received from his Premier.

Another subject of passionate discussion, in connection with education at this time, was what is called the conscience clause. It is well known that, up to 1833, parliament made no grants whatever towards educating the poorer classes. The

clergy of the established church, stimulated by the rivalry of other sects, and the fear of losing their hold on the young, were early in the field. The National Society was incorporated, so long ago as 1811, expressly "for the education of the poor in the principles of the established church." Not till more than twenty years after—that is, in 1833—did parliament provide any means for that purpose. In 1839, under Lord Melbourne's ministry, the administration of these parliamentary grants was entrusted to a committee of her majesty's Privy Council. This committee, however, co-operated with the National Society in good faith and with apparent sincerity. Building grants were to be made, school sites were to be legally secured, and inspectors were to be appointed by the committee. But those inspectors were not to be appointed without the consent of the two archbishops; the general instructions relating to religious teaching were to be framed by the archbishops, and again communicated to them before receiving the final sanction of the committee. The reports of the inspectors were also to be transmitted in duplicate, and at the same time, to the archbishop of the province and to the committee, and a copy was likewise to be sent to the bishop of the diocese. Up to 1846, the committee of council on education and the National Society worked together harmoniously and successfully. In that year, however, certain "management clauses" were drawn up, and one or other was required henceforth in every trust-deed of schools in union with the National Society, and receiving building grants from the committee. In 1858, other and more serious innovations were made. For the first time dissenters were declared eligible as managers of church schools; and, moreover, the conscience clause was insisted upon in all parishes where, according to the views of the committee of council on education, there is no room for a second school. These innovations proved a very apple of discord. The National Society, after a long correspondence on the subject, repelled the introduction of the conscience clause into schools in union with it, and ceased to have any dealings with the committee of council.

The better to understand the real merits of this controversy, we may premise that this famous conscience clause has something of a Protean character about it; but the last form it assumed, in 1864, is as follows:—"The said committee shall be bound to make such orders as shall provide for admitting to the benefits of the school the children of parents not in communion with the church of England, as by law established; but such orders shall be confined to the exemption of such children, if their parents desire it, from attendance at the public worship, and from instruction in the doctrine or formularies of the said church, and shall not otherwise interfere with the religious teaching of the scholars, as fixed by these presents, and shall not authorise any other religious instruction to be given in the school." It may be said, perhaps, as Lord Harrowby stated in the *Times*, that the application of this clause is not insisted upon "in the cases which strike the eye and the heart with terror and compassion, where the masses of a squalid population are crowded together, and their children are thronging the streets, uncared for in body and soul." It is applied, indeed, only to places too small for a second school to be established—to such as contain a population of less than 500. This, at all events, is the theory, though the practice seems to vary; and it is asserted, on good authority, that no place containing less than 150 children, or 900 population, would be deemed large enough for two schools. But it appears that there are no fewer than 9,000 parishes having a population under 500. In every such instance, if a parliamentary grant were asked for, the conscience clause would be accounted a necessary accompaniment. Again, though one-sixth has been said to be the *minimum* of dissenters required for the interposition of the conscience clause, it has been alleged on the best authority, that "it was very much a matter of discretion with the vice-president of the committee of council on education, what minority he will consider sufficient to require consideration in building a national school."

Such is a brief sketch of the history of the conscience clause, and its applica-



tions. It seems but fair, in small parishes, that the children of dissenters should reap the benefits of state grants for educational purposes. As a matter of policy, one would have thought churchmen would have been only too glad to get such under their influence; else how is the church to become what it claims to be—the church of the people? At any rate, churchmen have not yet been brought to this way of thinking. They declaim on the arbitrary behests of the committee of council: they blame it strongly for introducing so exceptional a condition, and for not preceding that introduction with some notice and discussion. As to parliamentary privileges, they never appear to have caused a moment's hesitation. "Yet we would naturally suppose," they say, "that such a wholesale interference with its own system of education would require its sanction or consent. The one great objection, however, to the conscience clause is this, that it is legislation for the minority, and yet a yoke upon the necks of all. It has converted what should be the law into the exception, and exalted the exception above the general rule. Thus, the conscience clause is invariably insisted upon wherever only one national school is required; but all experience proves that it is not enforced in one case out of scores. It follows, therefore, that the committee of council go out of their way gratuitously and wantonly to offend the consciences of churchmen on the mere hypothesis that they may thus relieve the consciences of dissenters—an hypothesis proved to be improbable in the highest degree. For though the absolute exclusion of all distinctive religious teaching is not enjoined by the conscience clause, but only prohibited after objection tendered by the parents in the case of particular and individual children, it cannot be denied that this general limitation for particular and hypothetical cases in the matter of religious education, will sound very much like an infraction of their highest privileges in the ears of the parochial clergy, as well as an invasion upon their own liberties. The conscience clause, indeed, stands as a stumbling-block at the threshold. It proclaims its own terms and no surrender; and yet, in hundreds of cases, it would never be operative. Is this a wise policy? Is it either generous or charitable thus to stand at the door and refuse admittance, unless certain conditions have been agreed to which are certainly offensive, mostly a dead letter, and hardly ever necessary?" Such is the grievance associated with the conscience clause. On the other hand, the very fact of its being all but useless and inoperative diminishes its importance, and detracts from its offensiveness. In practice, therefore, the conscience clause is not formidable. Its dangers are proved to be more imaginary than real, in the estimation of churchmen themselves.

In connection with this subject of education, it may be mentioned, that on the 21st of May, a Sunday-school jubilee, at Halifax, took place, when upwards of 36,000 attended the meeting, in the Manufacturers' Piece Hall. Eighty-seven schools were represented; some from a distance of sixteen miles.

In London, in July, a public meeting was held, to found a free public library, under the Free Libraries Act. The proposal was rejected by a large majority.

In parliament, this session, the Earl of Shaftesbury called the attention of the House to that part of the report of the education commission which referred to ragged schools, the statements in which he protested against, as unfair, untrue, and ungenerous. The Duke of Newcastle defended the commissioners, and stated the chief reason which had brought them to the conclusion, that ragged schools in which industrial instruction was not given, were not proper subjects for public assistance—namely, that such assistance would be detrimental to the other schools of the country. He contended that the class of children at present in ragged schools, would be more advantageously placed either in ordinary schools, reformatories, industrial schools, or in pauper schools. On the motion of Sir S. Northcote, the House of Commons appointed a select committee, to inquire how the education of neglected children might be best assisted by any public funds.

We add a few particulars relative to ragged schools. With them is associated the name of John Pounds, of Portsmouth. In 1781, when he was fifteen years of

age, he met with an accident, which crippled him for life. His trade was that of a cobbler. He had adopted a nephew; and, thinking that he could instruct the youth better with a companion than alone, he obtained, as a second pupil, the son of a poor woman in the neighbourhood. Other children were sought by him; and he went on teaching and instructing till 1839, when he died, aged seventy-two; "regretted," says the writer of the article "Ragged Schools," in the *British Almanac* for 1861, "by many who had learned to appreciate his character; and especially by the young men and women to whom he had given the first start in life. In his latter years he had usually about forty children gathered around him; the aggregate number of those who had been under his care being not less than 500."

It was about the time that John Pounds died that efforts of a similar kind to his were put forth in some well-known localities in London, as well as in other parts of the kingdom. George Yard, Whitechapel, and Welclose Square, Ratcliffe Highway, may be mentioned as places where something of this kind was done in a desultory manner. Probably the city of Bristol was the first to possess a regularly organised ragged school of the modern type.

In the metropolis, it was a city missionary who commenced the ragged school system.

"Andrew Walker, a Scotch gardener, in the pursuit of his occupation, came to London; and, becoming acquainted with the condition of a district lying near to Westminster Abbey, commonly known as the Devil's Acre, he took the matter deeply to heart. He applied to the authorities of the City Mission; was accepted; and commenced his career as a missionary in Westminster about 1839. During the sixteen years of his labours there, he witnessed gradual improvement, and had many evidences that his arduous labours were not all in vain. It must be remembered that Mr. Walker was a pioneer, and his operations were conducted in the very worst and most dangerous of the enemy's ground. Men, women, and children were intimately acquainted with the various appliances of deception, vice, and crime. On Sunday evenings, in a house belonging to the dean and chapter, there was a school for thieves, and a mock judicial court, in which young pick-pockets were shown how best to conduct and defend themselves when brought before a real judge. There were public-houses where dancing parties were accustomed to be held, in which persons of both sexes danced in a state of nudity. Whole streets and entire squares were occupied by houses of ill-fame; and there were regular establishments, from which the professional beggars, who honoured the district with their presence, might hire, at the charge of 2s. a day, widows' weeds, naval and military uniforms, wooden legs and arms, bandages, and other implements of imposture; children, in any number, could be had from the agency office at 9d. per day, or, direct from their parents, at 6d. per day, to be exhibited for the purpose of engaging the sympathies and emptying the pockets of a benevolent public. It required a man of no ordinary nerve, and of no ordinary tact, to carry the war into such a district. Happily the personal appearance of the missionary pioneer was sufficiently imposing to inspire caution in any who might feel disposed, by physical force, to resist his advance into their domains; while his native kindness of heart, coupled with practical wisdom in the management of his schemes, accomplished at length, to a very large extent, the reformation he desired. He commenced his more active aggression by hiring a stable in New Pye Street, Westminster, in which, after some rough fittings had been placed, the work of instruction was commenced, and various means were employed to gain the attention both of parents and children. As he proceeded assistance came to him from numerous and unlooked-for quarters. Some of those well known in the locality as proficient in crime, underwent a change of life, and became helpers in school efforts. Lord Ashley (now the Earl of Shaftesbury) came very early to the aid of these useful exertions; and, by his personal interest in the work, his judicious advice, his pecuniary assistance, and his influence with others among the higher



classes, rendered invaluable service. \* \* \* \* Mr. Walker subsequently commenced a nursery in Clapham, in which he employed youths discharged from prison; and had some success in assisting these outcasts to gain a useful and honourable place in society." Among other city missionaries of like spirit, who set earnestly to work in this field in other parts of the metropolis, with corresponding success, may be named Mr. Jackson, Mr. Vanderkiste, and Mr. Langridge.

In the year 1844, there had been established in London sixteen schools, with 200 voluntary teachers, and 2,000 children. It was at this time that the Ragged School Union was formed—an institution which has been of much service in strengthening and directing local operations. Other towns followed the good example. Industrial and reformatory schools were established, in connection with ragged schools, in all parts of the country; and the useful institution of shoeblacks was one result. In London, in 1859, there were 319 thus earning an honest livelihood.

Practically, a great educational step for the adult population was passed this session: we refer to Mr. Gladstone's act for the establishment of post-office savings banks. Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, catching at a hint given by the practice of a bank in Australia, conceived the idea of making all the money-order offices contributory to the savings banks. He proposed to establish a central savings bank in London, to which depositors might send their money through the money-order office, in sums of not less than £1; and which should issue, in return or acknowledgment for the remittances, savings bank interest-notes to the amount remitted; that is, notes entitling the holder to receive the amount of his deposit, with the addition of interest, at the rate of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. a year. The deposit might be remitted, in the form of a money-order, through the post-office, and the interest-note be received, by the same means, in one or two days. As it would be very undesirable that the interest-notes should come into circulation as a currency, the names of the owners would be written upon them, and they would be only payable to the owners, or their representatives, who might obtain the amount by complying with a simple form at the post-office. The views of Mr. Sikes were fully developed, both in a printed pamphlet, and in a paper read to the congress on social science, at Bradford. Upon the basis here laid down Mr. Gladstone legislated, and with great success. By means of post-office savings banks, persons are enabled to invest their minutest savings securely and profitably; and thus the labourer or artisan had an incentive to sobriety and industry such as he never had before.

But we must say something about the occupations of the people, as shown by the census of 1861. For this purpose the returns were classified as follows:—Professional, domestic, commercial, agricultural, indefinite, and non-productive. The professional was divided into three orders. The first, comprising persons engaged in the general or local government of the country, amounts to 87,350. The second, persons engaged in the defence of the country, reckons 131,194. The third, persons engaged in the learned professions, or occupied in literature, art, and science, is stated at 262,663. The total of the professional class is 411,957.

The domestic class forms the largest division of the population. It is divided into two orders—persons engaged in the domestic offices or duties of wives, mothers, mistresses of families, and children's relatives: to this class belong 10,058,938 persons. The second class, comprising persons engaged in entertaining and performing personal services for man, consists of 1,367,782. The commercial class comprises two orders. The first, that of persons who buy or sell, help, or lend money, houses, or goods of various kinds; the other, of persons engaged in the conveyance of men, animals, goods, and messages. The total number of both classes is 623,710.

The agricultural class is divided into two orders; the first amounting to 1,924,110 persons. This order is again subdivided into—1. Those working in fields and pastures, 1,883,652. 2. Working in woods, 8,926. 3. Those in gardens,

81,532. Under the second class are ranged persons engaged about animals; their number is 86,344.

The industrial class, 4,828,399, is thus divided—

Persons engaged in art and mechanical productions, in which matters of various kinds are employed in combination ... ..	953,289
Persons working and dealing in the textile fabrics, and in dress ... ..	2,231,617
Persons working and dealing in food and drinks ...	430,220
Persons working and dealing in animal substances ...	56,092
Persons working and dealing in vegetable substances ...	144,184
Persons working and dealing in minerals ... ..	1,012,997
The indefinite, or non-productive, class is thus divided—	
General labourers ... ..	309,883
Other persons, of indefinite occupations ... ..	45,919
Persons of rank or property, not returned under any office or occupation ... ..	110,299
Persons living on income from voluntary sources and rates ... ..	72,724
Prisoners and others, of criminal class, of no specified occupation ... ..	3,366
Vagrants and gipsies ... ..	1,903
Persons of no stated rank, profession, or occupation ...	150,890

Mr. Charles Knight adds—"There are two other tables having relation to the occupations of the people, which are interesting. That of the foreigners in England shows how little their industry enters into competition with native exertions. The total foreigners, those of European states, amount to 73,434 persons, of whom 50,844 are males, and 22,590 females. Of the females, 13,790 belong to the domestic class, of which 3,432 are in attendance. Of male domestic servants, there are 4,433. In the professional class, we find, as teachers of music, and musicians, 2,025 males, 223 females; of teachers generally, 1,133 males, 2,147 females. There are 4,777 persons engaged in mercantile pursuits; 15,737 carriers on seas and rivers. Of the industrial class, those engaged on dress amount to 6,649; those on watches and philosophical instruments, are 1,297. In furniture, there are employed 1,071. Very different is the present time from that in which the Flemings were the principal weavers in England. All the foreign workers earning a living among us, in the factories for textile fabrics, wool, worsted, silk, cotton, flax, and mixed materials, amount only to 529.

"There are special tables appropriated to the blind, and the deaf and dumb. The total number of the blind is 19,352. Happy is it that they are not wholly deprived of the power of being useful to the community: 56 are clergymen, ministers, and church officers; 609 musicians, and teachers of music; 79 teachers. Belonging to the agricultural class, there are 1,460; to the industrial class, 4,000. We may see, in several items of these returns, how the sense of touch compensates, in some degree, for the loss of sight. There are 677 workers in dress, and 638 in cane, rush, and straw. Amongst the blind, there are 539 persons of rank or property not returned under any office or occupation; and 1,091 living on income from voluntary sources, and rates.

"The total of the deaf and dumb is 12,236. Of these, 5,104 belong to the domestic class; 932 to the agricultural; and 2,909 to the industrial. Of this class, 1,949 are working and dealing in the textile fabrics, and in dress." In documents such as these, as Mr. Knight has well remarked, "the inner life of a nation may be traced."

In parliament, some little attention was drawn to the condition of the labouring classes. On February 28th, the Earl of Derby, in presenting some petitions



respecting the demolition of labourers' dwellings, in consequence of the construction of great public works, especially railways in the metropolis, suggested whether it might not be desirable to appoint a committee to inquire into the effect of the extension of railways upon the moral and social condition of the metropolis. On March 11th, his lordship got the House to agree, "that it be an instruction to the committee on the metropolitan railways, to inquire into and report on the number of houses and of inhabitants which are to be removed by the works of the respective railways, and whether any provision has been made, or is required to be made, for diminishing the evils consequent." On April 12th, the sheriffs of the city of London appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, with a petition from the corporation of the city of London, praying, that in the case of the metropolitan railways which are seeking to have termini in London—in consequence of which many of the working classes would be driven from their present abodes—provision should be made for the conveyance of the working classes from the stations of such railways at cheap rates. Again, in August, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved an address to her majesty, for an inquiry into the employment of children and young persons in trades and manufactures not already regulated by law. The motion was agreed to, and discoveries were made of a character which imperatively demanded parliamentary interference.

The subject of providing decent house accommodation for the labouring classes, driven from their homes in such large numbers by recent London "improvements," has lately been much before the public. Regarding the evil of overcrowding, which at present obtains among the poor, Mr. Tucker, a Berkshire magistrate, tells us—"Two years ago, I read to the friends of the Faringdon Agricultural Library a paper on the condition of the agricultural labourer, in which I drew attention to the vast efforts that had been made for the advancement of agriculture in all its departments; and endeavoured to show that everything which science or art could devise, or money command, had been made tributary to this object, and that not merely in improved methods of cultivating the soil, and the introduction of new and improved implements and machinery, but also in the breeding, feeding, and housing of cattle in dry, clean, well-ventilated buildings: at the same time, I pointed to the fact, that while all these gigantic efforts were called forth in that direction, comparatively little had been done to improve the well-being of the labourer, and especially as regards cottage accommodation. These observations, I believe, are just as true now as they were two years since; and, feeling a deep interest in the question, I have employed competent persons to visit every town and village in the Faringdon Union, to obtain exact information as to the accommodation and number of inmates in every cottage in the Union. That information I hold in my hand; but, as it is too minute, circumstantial, and voluminous to lay before this meeting, I have made a digest of the leading features, which, with permission, I will read to you." This digest was published in the *Times*, and was a most sickening report. Other gentlemen followed. Mr. James Harvey, chairman of the West London Union, writes—"Some time since, the relieving officer, and one of the guardians of this Union, visited Plumtree Court, Holborn, which contains twenty-seven houses, without back-yards, and, with few exceptions, without back lights. These houses were occupied by 676 men, women, and children. In one room, 10 feet by 13, and 8 feet 6 high, there were thirteen persons living and sleeping—viz., two men, five women, and six children. In another house, 17 feet long and 16 feet wide, including the passage, with ground-floor, first-floor, and attic, there were sixty-nine persons living and sleeping, with only one convenience in the basement. On another occasion, when our relieving officer visited a house in this court, between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, for the apprehension of a man who had deserted his wife, in attempting to go into one room, he was compelled to wait until the inmates had risen from the floor behind the door, so that the door could be opened. The people lay so thick on the floor that he had to be cautious in stepping between them. In

this room there was one child suffering from the measles, and another from the small-pox. On opening the door, the stench was so great that the police-officer who accompanied him was obliged to withdraw. From this court alone, the parish has had to pay extra fees to the medical officer for the confinement of an incredible number of young women, and 'widows,' of illegitimate children. The cases continually being brought before our board of once respectable women who have fallen under such conditions are truly heartrending, and form one of the greatest difficulties with which boards of guardians have to deal.

"A house in Holborn Buildings, 18 feet deep and 18 feet wide, including the passage, was visited last week, and was then occupied as follows:—Attic, seven women; first-floor front, five women; ditto back room, two married couples; ground-floor front, five men; ditto back room, four men: in all, twenty-five persons, paying 1s. 6d. each per week—equal to £97 10s. per annum. The house is rated to the poor at £15 per annum! A short time since, a respectable married woman, with an infant nine months old, who had been deserted by her husband, lodged in this house for five weeks, paying 1s. 6d. per week for half a bed with a perfect stranger. She was then obliged to come into the workhouse. The respectable poor, in their distress, are thrust into these dens of demoralisation, because there are not dwellings within the reach of their means.

"In Plough Court, Fetter Lane (a blind court), containing thirty-eight houses, at the taking of the census of 1851, nearly 2,000 people were living and sleeping, giving an average of forty persons to each house."

The cases cited here are not exceptional. They are such as exist in all our towns and villages, and indicate not so much the poverty as the improvidence of the poor. The truth must be told. More than anything else, it is requisite that the working classes be decently lodged, and not compelled to live in pestiferous dens, to escape which men and women are driven, in self-defence, to rush to the beer-shop, the gin-palace, or the public-house. The dwellings of the poor, in the back-streets and alleys of our towns, and often on the estates of rich, and even benevolent landlords, are as wretched as they are degrading. In France the operatives are considerably better lodged. In London, and in all our large towns, it is not uncommon for families, of all ages and sexes, to sleep in one room, without the slightest attempt to preserve decency. The evils resulting, appalling as they are, are still further enhanced by the state of the back-streets and alleys of our towns. The condition of these streets and alleys is as bad as it can be. They are built after no plan; they are narrow, and often closed at one end; they are very badly drained; the openings of what drains there are, are generally close to the windows or doors of the houses; there is often only one privy for three, four, and sometimes as many as ten houses; the streets and yards are used for the filthiest purposes, and the stench is often insupportable. Recently, the writer of this work had occasion to visit a town of this description a few miles out of London. We could scarcely believe, till we saw it, that human creatures could live in such degradation. The sight was appalling. The houses, with their cold brick floors, windows stuffed with rags, with dust and filth all around, were not fit for pigs. No gentleman would lodge in such places his horses or hounds; yet these hovels were crowded; and as we saw the wretchedness within and without, we thought how deep and dire must be the poverty of the surrounding neighbourhood. Women were there, all slovenly and filthy; and in these wretched sties—for they could scarce be called houses—were young children born and brought up. For what? It was needless to ask. The answer was too obvious. "Men do not gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles." Such a childhood can but lead to a manhood vicious and degraded, and stained with crime. The people were not poor. Most of the men earned a guinea a week; many as much as thirty shillings. A great deal of money was paid away in the district, which was one of market-gardeners. Yet the labourers who received it all, lived in a state little, if any, better than that of savages. The inspector of police was with us. We asked



him how the money was spent?—how, with such wages, there could be such deep and utter poverty? The answer was, as we anticipated—it was all spent at the public-house. The clergyman of the parish told us the same. The magistrate gave us a similar reply. Nor could we wonder at it. What man or woman would stop in such filthy, stinking hovels as those we looked into; who, with a few pence in his or her pocket, could march off to the public-house, have a cheerful fire, and a comfortable room, congenial company, and the exhilarating stimulus of a pot or two of beer. These wretched hovels, we found, paid 15 per cent. to their owners, who, therefore, did not care to build better: and thus they demoralised a whole district, and made men, and women, and children drunkards and criminals for the sake of a little extra gain.

In 1860, the first complete return of the judicial statistics of England and Wales was published. The police force, in 1860, consisted of 6,082 borough constables; 7,761 county constables; 6,289 metropolitan police; and 628 London police.

The returns, procured by the police, of the criminal classes, were as follows:—

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Known thieves and depredators under 16	4,208	1,467	5,495
"    "    "    over 16	25,407	7,012	32,419
Receivers of stolen goods ... under 16	48	23	71
"    "    "    ... over 16	3,520	849	4,369
Prostitutes ... .. under 16	...	1,873	1,873
"    "    "    ... over 16	...	28,927	28,927
Suspected persons ... .. under 16	3,473	1,130	4,603
"    "    "    ... over 16	25,238	5,365	30,603
Vagrants and tramps ... .. under 16	2,968	2,163	5,131
"    "    "    ... over 16	11,639	5,894	17,533
Total under 16... ..	10,517	6,656	17,173
,, over 16... ..	65,804	48,047	113,851
Total... ..	76,321	54,703	131,024

Besides these, there are 24,121 others in prisons and reformatories; making a total of 155,145.

The police reported houses of bad character as follows:—

Houses of receivers of stolen goods	...	...	...	3,080
Public-houses, resorts of thieves and prostitutes	...	...	...	2,430
Beer-shops	"	"	"	2,508
Coffee-houses	"	"	"	440
Other suspected houses	"	"	"	1,818
Brothels	...	...	...	7,558
Tramps' lodging-houses	...	...	...	6,887

24,711

During 1860, the police had information of 50,405 indictable crimes; 24,862 persons had been apprehended, of whom 18,044 were males, and 6,818 were females; 384,918 persons were charged with offences to be determined summarily. The total number of persons proceeded against, either on indictment or summarily, was 409,780: the males numbered 323,551, and the females, 86,229. The report states that 19,864 were known thieves; 20,660 prostitutes; 16,374 vagrants and tramps; 46,142 suspected persons; 2,468 habitual drunkards; 137,574 were of

previous good character; and of 144,405 the characters were unknown. Each prisoner cost the country £26 5s. 6d. The actual cost to the state of each convict, after deducting the proceeds of his labour, was £19. At the Middlesex Industrial School, opened in 1859, and containing, in 1861, 265 inmates, the cost per head, per annum, was £24 0s. 10½d.

In the courts of common law, 97,568 writs of summons, and 512 writs of *capias* were issued; 2,069 causes entered for trial. In the County Courts, there were 782,384 plaints entered. In 1860, there were 2,820 insolvent petitions filed; and, in the Bankruptcy Courts, 1,326 petitions were presented; 848 by creditors, and 432 by traders themselves. Under the statute which provides for traders settling their affairs by private arrangement, without bankruptcy, there were 218 petitions.

In parliament attention had been called to the defective state of the bankruptcy law; and an attempt was made to remedy it. On February the 11th, on the motion of the Attorney-general, a bill was brought in, and read a first time, for that purpose. In April it was read a third time, and passed the Commons. In the Lords the measure was successful; but considerable opposition was made to it. In the Commons, on July the 18th, after a warm discussion, an amendment, by the Lords striking out from the Bankruptcy and Insolvency Bill the provision for a chief judge in bankruptcy, was rejected by 173 to 129. However, on the 31st, the Commons thought better of it; and it was agreed, on the motion of the Attorney-general, not to insist on their disagreement with the Lords. This act consisted of 232 clauses; and as it particularly affected the commercial and trading classes, was, perhaps, the most important passed in the session. It decreed that henceforth the Court of Bankruptcy will consist of the present commissioners; and to them is confided all needful powers of the superior courts of law and equity, and of the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors. The County Court judges are henceforth to exercise in the county all the powers of district commissioners. The London commissioners are, as vacancies occur, to be reduced to three. The Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors was abolished, and the jurisdiction of the County Courts for insolvency is discontinued. The existing Court of Appeal in Chancery was preserved, and appeals were to be made to it from the County Courts in bankruptcy, as well as from the Court of Bankruptcy proper. Questions of fact may, under the directions of the Court of Appeal, be tried in bankruptcies by juries; or issues may be sent to be tried by law. The principal feature of the act was, that non-traders are brought within the privileges and liabilities of bankruptcy, although the distinction between a trader and a non-trader was, for some certain purposes, preserved. But it is needless to enter more into the particulars of a bill which, in its working, has given great and wide-spread dissatisfaction, and which the commercial public, at the first fitting opportunity, have determined to get reformed.

In London a huge sanitary improvement is being carried out. It appeared, in 1860, considerable progress had been made with the main-drainage works. The northern high-level sewer was completed from Hampstead to the river Lea, a distance of nearly nine miles; and the remaining portion, from Lea to Barking Creek, a distance of about six miles, is in a fair way of completion. The works at the Lea are of a very difficult character, the sewers having to be carried by iron aqueducts, supported on columns, across no less than seven branches of the river, and over several lines of railway. The southern high-level sewer is much less advanced than the northern. The works there are of an extremely difficult character, especially at Deptford, where the subsoil, which had to be bored for the low-level sewer, proved to be a running sand, filled with an unprecedented volume of water. "Up to the present time," reports Mr. Bazalgette, the engineer, "nearly one million has been expended upon the works, purchase of the land, and incidentals; and there are now about 6,000 workmen actively engaged upon the works, in addition to those employed in brick-making and other trades in various parts of England, which will probably swell the number to about 10,000. It



will fairly be expected," he adds, "that the main intercepting scheme will be completed in about two years from this time." The original estimate for the intercepting scheme was £3,000,000; and Mr. Bazalgette was still of opinion that it would be completed for about that sum; but he warned us that another half million would be required for improving the tributary sewers, and covering all open streams, before the London drainage can be pronounced perfect.

Another great work begun, was that of the embankment of the Thames. The House of Commons passed a resolution continuing the ninepenny tax on coals, within the limits of the Metropolitan Police Act, for that express purpose. The committee appointed by the House to report on the plans submitted to them for inspection, recommended one which the chief commissioner embodied in a bill, which was carried through parliament. The coal-wharves and docks between Westminster and the Temple were to be removed, and a spacious roadway was to be formed, commencing "at Westminster, by an easy descent, opposite the clock-tower, and to be continued, one hundred feet in width, to the eastern boundary of the Temple Gardens, from which point the road would be reduced to seventy feet in width, and carried on a viaduct, supported by piers of masonry, rising to the level of Blackfriars Bridge—so constructed as to leave a breadth of water for the convenience of the city gas-works and the adjoining wharves, of about seventy or eighty feet. The commissioners, as the embankment would cease at Blackfriars, recommend that the thoroughfare should be continued eastward to the Mansion-house; for without such a street no relief would be given to the crowded thoroughfare of Ludgate Hill, St. Paul's Churchyard, and Cheapside. The main length of the embankment is about 7,000 feet; but it is completely divided by the bridges into sections, and each is to be treated as a separate design."—"On either side of Hungerford and Waterloo Bridges would be steam-boat landing-places, the dummies for which would be partly concealed within recesses, formed by projecting into the river, in front of the general line of embankment, massive granite piles, with moulded pedestals, rising high (about thirty feet) above the roadway, and hereafter to be enriched with groups of statuary and bas-reliefs. Half-way between Hungerford and Waterloo Bridges it is proposed to construct a flight of landing-steps, sixty feet wide, projecting into the river, and flanked at each end with massive piers rising to the level of a few feet above the roadway, which would add much to the effect of this central feature as viewed from the river." The other bridges and intermediate landing-places will be treated in a similar way. "The embankment wall itself has been enriched with mouldings of a simple character, down to the level of high-water-mark, the continuous line of moulding being broken by the introduction, at intervals, of massive blocks of granite, to carry ornamental lamps, and by occasional recesses for promenade seats."

Another undertaking, which, in its results, was found a wonderful convenience to Londoners, and people from the country visiting London, was the Metropolitan Railway, the works of which were constructed with unrivalled skill and rapidity. It was opened in 1863. Ultimately it was connected with the Great Northern Railway, and then with the London, Chatham, and Dover. Thus, from the latter place to the very north of England, there is uninterrupted railway communication—a matter of no slight importance when we remember the crowded state of the streets of London, the difficulty pedestrians have in crossing them, and the distressing accidents which daily occur in consequence.

In 1859, Mr. D. W. Harvey, commissioner of city police, caused to be prepared an account of twenty-four hours' traffic over London Bridge, from six in the morning on March 16th, to six in the morning on March 17th. The number of persons on foot was 107,074; and in vehicles, 60,836; or 167,910 altogether. The vehicles were 4,483 cabs, 4,286 omnibuses, 9,245 waggons and carts, 2,430 other vehicles; or 20,444 in all—7,000 persons and 850 vehicles per *hour* night and day! It is said of a stranger who came to London for the first time, and took

up his quarters in one of the most crowded streets of the city, that he remained standing at the door the whole of the first day of his London existence, because he waited until the crowd had gone. "A man," says a German writer, "who would do that, must rise and go to bed with the owl."

It is to be feared, that while parliament was looking after the morals of the poor, our law-makers forgot to look at home. The poor are looked after by the police; visited by the city missionary; their attendance at a place of worship is competed for by the clergy of various and rival sects; their wants and woes are worked up into newspaper articles; and they live, as it were, in houses of glass. It is true that one-half of the world does not know how the other half lives; but it is not true in the sense in which it is generally affirmed. Who would have thought it possible that a pious baronet, taking the chair at a religious meeting in Exeter Hall, would prove a felon; that a great discounting house, eminent in the mercantile and philanthropic world, would sanction the circulation of forged dock-warrants; that the manager, about to engage in prayer at a meeting of directors, would turn out to be the manager of the greatest swindle in modern times. Society would never have believed that the charitable Redpath, or the dashing Robson, or the wealthy Roupell, M.P. for Lambeth, were forgers and cheats: and yet they were all that, and more; and our trading classes, becoming richer, and more sunk in flunkysm every day, certainly set their inferiors but an indifferent example. In a work published at this time, the writer says—"If I were to tell what most men know—what every one knows except those whose business is to know it, and seek to reform it—I should be charged with indelicacy (as if truth could be indelicate), and my book, perhaps, prosecuted by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, if that abortion exists still. We are choked up with cant; almost everything we believe in is a lie. The prayer of Ajax should be ours—"Light! more light!"

One or two facts will suffice.

The Hon. Mrs. Norton, writing to the *Times*, in defence of her new novel, *Lost and Saved*, says—"It is complained that this is not a book for the very young. I did not write it for the very young; I should not give novels to the very young, any more than I should teach my daughter French out of *Gil Blas*, though that was a general fashion in the last generation. I myself read no novels, saw no plays, nor ever attended the opera till I was married. And to those who object to a story of the cruel vices of fashionable life, written with a moral purpose, and an effort at warning, I must say that this last amusement struck me then with a surprise which no after familiarity has ever obliterated. The opera is, unquestionably, the favourite amusement of the English aristocracy. Now, what are the plots of the principal operas?

"The plot of *Don Giovanni* is so well known that the name has passed into a by-word for profligacy. In *Norma*, two Druid priestesses are seduced. The elder priestess, with consummate hypocrisy, continues to head all sacred rites till jealous frenzy forces from her the fact that she is the mother of two children. These children she threatens to murder, but spares, and is herself executed; leaving it doubtful whether or not the younger priestess, and inconstant lover, are to 'live happy ever after,' or not.

"In the *Sonnambula*, a young lord puts up at the village inn, where two young women walk into his room at night; one from wantonness, the other because she is a somnambulist. The somnambulist, who was a bride on the point of marriage, is unable to convince her betrothed, by any amount of melodious argument, that she is innocent, till, during a repetition of her somnambulism, he is compelled to admit that 'seeing is believing,' and all ends happily.

"In the *Favorita*, a young monk falls in love with a lady while dipping their mutual fingers in holy water; forsakes his monastery; lives a life of pleasure; goes to the wars, and returns, covered with glory, to claim her hand. But he discovers she is mistress to a king, so renounces the tainted bride, and returns to his monastery, where the lady arriving, disguised as a male novice, he instantly reverts



to his earthly passion, and proposes to her to elope. He then finds that she has poisoned herself, and, appointing the next day for his own death, from a broken heart, the piece ends.

"In *Lucrezia Borgia*, a beautiful youth, of unknown parentage, falls in love, at first sight, with his own mother! Not knowing this fact, but learning that she is the infamous Lucrezia Borgia, he clambers up, and strikes out the first letter of her name with his dagger, leaving the word 'Orgia.' Seized while completing this insult, and dragged before her husband, a pretended pardon from the latter (who believes him to be Lucrezia's paramour), is followed by the presentation of a cup of poison. Lucrezia offers an antidote as soon as she can, and he is saved for the nonce. But, attempting to destroy a whole group of her insulters, with whom he is feasting, she poisons him over again. A few drops only of the antidote remain, which he magnanimously refuses to take, since there is not sufficient to share with his friends. He therefore dies; learning, at the last moment, that the fatal enchantress he had adored is his profligate mother.

"In *Rigoletto*, the buffoon, or jester, in another most profligate Court, has a beautiful daughter, who is seduced by the duke, his master, while he is encouraging the duke's vices, and ridiculing the misery of an aged nobleman, in whose family the like misfortune has occurred. Cursed solemnly by the old nobleman, he discovers that his daughter is ruined, and that he himself connived at her fall, thinking it was the abduction of some other woman. Finally, he hires an assassin to murder the lover, tie him up in a sack, and throw him into the river; but the daughter is unfortunately murdered, in mistake, by the hired bravo; so that when the father triumphantly drags out the sack with the body, he finds it to be the corpse of his own child.

"We have, besides these, an operatic version of Goethe's *Faust*; and the *Traviata*, a story of an 'unfortunate,' beloved by a young gentleman of good fortune, and held to be (Heaven knows why) a more improper opera than even *Lucrezia Borgia*."

Again, let us take the case of the Windham trial—that scandal which really shocked society. The property and name of the great Windham was inherited at this time by a young man who had received the usual training of the class to which he belonged. His uncle was General Windham, the hero of the Redan; his relatives were people of title; so that the lad had what may be considered as every advantage for his start in life. Some little time before he attained his majority, Mr. Windham was smitten, in the park, by the charms of a lady with an elegant equipage. She belonged to the class conventionally known by the title of "pretty horsebreakers," a phrase, the appropriateness of which we might well question, if we were so disposed, seeing that it indicates only an incident, and not an essential attribute of their career. Her Christian names were soft and pretty—"Agnes Anne;" her surname was more prosaic and business-like, although it was the same as that of one of our most accomplished and most poetical of Englishmen—Rogers. By a justifiable license, universally recognised on the stage, as well as in her own particular world, she changed this unromantic cognomen for the more aristocratic appellation of Willoughby; and we must so far pay tribute to her taste as to call her by that name. At the time Mr. Windham became fascinated, Agnes Anne Willoughby was under the protection of a gentleman who allowed her the sum of £2,000 a year—a sum, we may remark, which is about the highest allowed to the permanent servants of the crown in England. Mr. Windham paid his addresses, but Miss Willoughby did not receive them with favour. She intimated plainly her dislike of him, and her unwillingness to part with her protector, and his £2,000 a year. Nevertheless, Mr. Windham persevered. He offered her marriage, and a settlement of £800 in perpetuity; to be afterwards increased to £1,500, when Windham came in for the bulk of his property, which altogether amounts to some £15,000 a year. Although she all along appears to have expressed her dislike to the man and the match, these terms attracted her, and she agreed to

for the Colonies had written to the Governor-general of Canada, desiring that John Anderson should not be given up to the United States' authorities without directions from the home government; and he would not be given up until the question pending in the Court of Queen's Bench was settled. The terms of the treaty were clear, that before Anderson was given up, it must be established, by a court of competent jurisdiction, that he had committed what, by the English law, would be considered murder. If Anderson had not committed murder, he could not be claimed under the treaty.

In the last week of November, 1861, news reached England that Captain Wilks, of the American navy, had carried off four American citizens from the deck of an English vessel, in violation of international law. It appeared, that while on her way to England, the English mail-steamer *Trent* was stopped by the Federal steamer *San Jacinto*, and Messrs. Mason and Slidell, the Confederate commissioners, taken from her. Commander Williams, the mail agent on board the British steamer, in a speech delivered at a dinner of the Royal Western Yacht Club, thus narrates the affair—"As to the manner in which the act on board the *Trent* was performed, he was, at the time Captain Moir came to him to say that a suspicious vessel was ahead, on the main-deck, reading. A very few minutes after the vessel was descried, they hoisted their ensign on board the *Trent*. It was not responded to. As they approached the *San Jacinto*, a shot was fired across the bows of the *Trent*. They proceeded slowly, and put her helm a-starboard, and approached. They were not half a cable's length from her. He would say she stopped—except that she had steerage way—when a shell was fired across her bows; and that was the way which it had been thought proper to style as 'unexceptionable.' With regard to the manner in which Lieutenant Fairfax and he parted—Mr. Fairfax came to him on the main-deck, hat in hand, and said in effect—'Sir, I have a painful duty to perform, and if, in the excitement of the moment, I have said aught that by possibility can be construed into a personal offence, or an insult towards you, I must humbly beg your pardon, sir, for I never meant it.' He replied—'Mr. Fairfax, I have had a painful scene to witness—a scene of degradation to my country's flag. I do not deny that my feelings have been greatly excited; but if by any gesture I have done aught to offend you, as a man, there is my hand, sir, and I crave your forgiveness.' Mr. Fairfax had said that his (Commander Williams's) manner was so violent he was compelled to request Captain Moir to remove him from the deck, and that there was no union existing between him and Captain Moir. He utterly denied that there ever occurred one single instance of a want of unity between Captain Moir and himself; and he was proud to have the opportunity of saying that he could bear testimony to the high character of Captain Moir. It was said by the American papers that Captain Wilks could not have received instructions from his government at Washington, for that he was on his return from the western coast of Africa, wending his way through the Bahama Channel to New York. But on the 16th or 17th of October, he (Commander Williams) saw the *San Jacinto* off St. Thomas. He went on his way to Mexico, going to Havannah, Vera Cruz, and Tampico. On his return to Havannah on the 6th of November, he found that the *San Jacinto* had been to Havannah from St. Thomas; that she had coaled there; and that two of her officers, passing themselves off as Southerners in their hearts, had lunched with Mr. Slidell and family, and extracted from them their intended movements. Miss Slidell branded one of the officers to his face with his infamy, having been her father's guest not ten days before. Mr. Fairfax had denied that the marines made a rush towards Miss Slidell at the charge with fixed bayonets, but he (Commander Williams) most positively affirmed that they did so. Miss Slidell did strike Mr. Fairfax, but she did not do it with the vulgarity of gesture which had been attributed to her. Miss Slidell was with her father in the cabin, with her arm encircling his neck, and she wanted to be taken to prison with him. Mr. Fairfax attempted to get into the cabin—he did not say forcibly, for he did not say a word against Mr. Fairfax, so far as his



manner was concerned—he attempted to get her away by inducements. In her agony, then, she did strike him in the face three times. With regard to the circumstances attending the marines rushing with the points of their bayonets at Miss Slidell, it was then that she screamed for her father, who broke the window of the cabin, through which he thrust himself; and as she screamed, he (Commander Williams) had just time to put his body between their bayonets and Miss Slidell.”

Before sitting down, he read a letter which he had received from his chief, Captain Patey, showing that he had the approbation of government for his part of the affair; which, after referring to the circumstances of the case, concluded as follows:—“I am commanded by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to convey to you their lordships’ approval of your conduct whilst acting as naval agent on board the *Trent* on the occasion in question; and also of the judicious steps you subsequently took for making the matter known to Lord Lyons and Vice-Admiral Milne, and other British authorities.—CHARLES PATEY, Captain Superintendent.”

All England anticipated war with America. A proclamation appeared, prohibiting the exportation of munitions of war. Expedition after expedition was despatched across the Atlantic. In three weeks, from 10,000 to 11,000 troops were on their way across the Atlantic, and our naval force at that station was nearly doubled. The English public was certainly in a great rage. The deck of a British man-of-war was sacred, and that sanctity had been rudely violated. The people were ready to make any sacrifice to obtain reparation for the wrong.

A despatch, courteously worded, dated November 30th, 1861, was forwarded by the British cabinet to Washington, expressing the belief that Captain Wilks had acted without the authority of his government, and requiring the surrender of the captured envoys. It was calculated that an answer to this despatch could be received in about a month. It arrived, in fact, on the 9th of January. On the 3rd of December, three days after the date of the British despatch, the French government forwarded a communication, through their minister at Washington, expressing their disapproval of the act of Captain Wilks, accompanied with the courteous intimation that all the neutral powers were interested in the disavowal of the proceeding on the part of the United States’ government. This despatch was formally communicated to the British government on the 6th of December. On the 19th of December, Mr. Adams, the American minister, waited on our Foreign Minister, to say that “no instructions were given to Captain Wilks to authorise him to act in the manner he had done. Neither had the United States’ government committed itself with regard to any decision upon the character of that act. The government would wait for any representation the British government might make before coming to any positive decision.” On the 18th of December, the Austrian, and, on the 25th, the Prussian government, sent despatches to Washington, supporting the claim of the British government. The Russian ambassador, at London, wrote to his colleague at Washington, condemning the conduct of Captain Wilks; and this was confirmed by the Russian government. These proceedings of the three great powers were immediately made known to the British government, who must have felt that the chance of war was indeed small, especially considering the internal strife by which America was torn asunder and convulsed.

The American view of the transaction appears to have differed very considerably from our own. According to Ward Beecher, they thought nothing of the indignity offered to England in boarding a British steamer, and abducting two of the passengers. In his farewell speech at Manchester, the reverend gentleman said—“You will recollect that an American naval vessel, by accident—if there be such things as accidents—overhauled an English mail-steamer, and took from it two men who represented themselves as ambassadors from the so-called Confederate government to the Courts of England and France respectively. I remem-

ber very well, when the ship came from Europe, and the tidings spread across America as quick as lightning could flash, that, for a day or two, the universal feeling was—'Here's a stupendous joke.' Everybody laughed. It struck the comical feeling of the nation, that these two men should have started off to represent the Confederates at St. James's and in Paris, and, instead, found themselves in Fort Lafayette. And there was a feeling of immense good-nature, and even in jollity. Then, after two or three days, some lawyer men began to inquire in the papers—'What is the law on this subject? It may be a very good joke; but what says the law?' We began to draw down our faces, and say—'Sure enough there is an England, and she will have a word to say. What, then, is the law?' Then began to be quoted what the English law was; our papers began to be filled with English precedents and English conduct; and there was a universal feeling that we had acted according to English precedents. That conviction is yet unchanged, and never will be changed, because it is according to fact. But I had the opportunity of knowing, from my position, both as preacher, lecturer, and editor, that the feeling of the people was, 'We are going to do what is right now, whatever it is. If we are in the wrong, we shall concede this matter; but if we are in the right, we will not budge an inch, neither by bullying nor intimidation.' At the moment the information came to our shores of these facts, Mr. Seward addressed a confidential communication to Mr. Adams, instructing him to read the same to Earl Russell; the purport of which was, that this had been done without the privity or assent of the government, who were prepared, on the statement of England's wishes, to settle this matter amicably. Mr. Adams read that to Earl Russell, and it lay nine or ten days quiet. The letter being confidential, Mr. Adams scrupulously avoided speaking of it; but it leaked out, nevertheless, that there had been a communication from the American government to the English, and everybody was asking what was its nature. This communication having been read, I think, on the 19th of December, it would be about the 29th that your *Morning Post*, which is supposed to be a semi-official organ, declared that there had been a communication from the American government, but that it had nothing to do with the *Trent* affair. And whereas it was a communication on that, and nothing else. To this hour that paper has never explained nor retracted that malicious falsehood. From that point complication began—I believe that. But there was something before that. Even before that message came from Washington, and before the British government had heard what we had to say, orders had issued that British troops should repair to Canada, and the navy and dockyards were put on double labour. England has never shown want of promptness and spirit; but I believe you can find no other case in English history in which a misunderstanding between ships of two nations has been treated with similar precipitancy—not waiting to hear explanations, but preparing for war, or threatening war, before you could possibly have the real facts. As to what took place on the other side, I am alleged to have been all wrong when I said the American government showed instant disposition to make reparation, because, on the other hand, we heaped honours on Captain Wilks all through the nation. When we thought we were right, we did; but after we found out, by the declaration of our government, that we were wrong, point me to one instance in which even the slightest popular assembly undertook to traverse the decision of our government by showing attention to Captain Wilks."

There is much force in these observations. We need not go so far as Mr. Beecher, and defend the conduct of Captain Wilks, as sanctioned by English precedent; but the conduct of Lord Palmerston and the British government was certainly more spirited than friendly. There was little danger of war with America. The Americans at that time had quite enough to do. Nor were our successes, when at war with the people of that country, such as to create any desire in this country again to engage in an American war. We had gathered few laurels in our American encounters; nay, Canada, with its vast and defenceless frontier, supplies



an additional motive for desiring peace with our kinsmen across the Atlantic. We could listen to, and treat with proper respect, the criticisms of a popular orator and leader such as Mr. Beecher; but when America sought to condemn us on the testimony of Mr. Edwin James, formerly M.P. for Marylebone, that was quite a different affair. Mr. James had been compelled to withdraw from England under peculiarly unpleasant circumstances. He had been a popular advocate: he had defended Anderson, and was at the height of his popularity, when it was found that he had suddenly left England, and gone to America, where he, like a renegade, declared the conduct of England in the *Trent* affair was altogether wrong. It appeared that this legal worthy had been guilty of involving Lord Worsley, son of the Earl of Yarborough, in liabilities to the extent of £30,000. He had victimised a respectable attorney, named Fryer, residing at Wimbourne. Mr. James had been counsel in a cause in which Mr. Fryer was attorney. The latter was so much struck by his zeal and ability, that he became his friend, then his creditor; and, finally, compassionating his embarrassed condition, conceived the idea of relieving him from his distresses by paying off all his debts, recouping himself by the receipts of his professional income. Under this arrangement, Mr. Fryer had paid, in two years, no less than £22,000. Then came the crash; and then, for the first time, Mr. Fryer and Lord Worsley became convinced of the claims of each other. The third charge made against Mr. James involved professional dishonesty. He was counsel for Mr. Scully, the plaintiff in the cause of *Scully v. Ingram*, the latter gentleman being the well-known proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*. In the course of the trial, Mr. James cross-examined the defendant in the style in which he was a great master. Poor Ingram was completely shaken, and terribly cut up. The result of the trial was a verdict for Mr. James's client, the plaintiff. A rule for a new trial was obtained. In the meanwhile Mr. Ingram said to a friend—"I must lend Mr. James some money." The friend did not see the necessity; upon which the victim replied—"I must—I am afraid I must; I must do anything he asks." Among the papers of Mr. Ingram, who was drowned in Lake Ontario, in the disaster of the *Lady Elgin*, was found a letter of Mr. James, in which he admitted a loan of £1,250, with the expression—"You shall not repent of your kindness to me." At the second trial, Mr. James, notwithstanding his success on the first occasion, compromised the case. Thus, bankrupt in character and purse, the popular demagogue of Marylebone sought to pander to the democracy of the New World, and to regain the position he had so long held in the Old. It does not appear, however, that his efforts were crowned with success.

Mr. Cobden said—"The difficulty in which we found ourselves when under the sudden necessity of providing warm clothing for our troops, brought the disposition of the French emperor to a singular test. Such is the severity of the winter in Canada, that sentries are often required to be relieved every half-hour to avoid being frozen; and there is frequently a fall of seven feet of snow during the season. For such a rigorous climate, a corresponding equipment of clothing was indispensable. Among other articles of necessity were long boots, in which we found ourselves deficient. The following little incident must be given in the words of Sir G. C. Lewis, the Secretary for War, delivered in the House of Commons on the 17th of February, 1862; and, as it is taken from the newspaper report of the speech, the expressions of feeling, as they were elicited from the House, are also retained:—"There was one article that was not used by any of our regiments, and which was not in store in this country—the article of long boots. The French government having been informed of our difficulty, undertook the supply of 1,500 pairs of boots, which came over in forty-eight hours from Paris (cheers), and at a cost for which they could have scarcely been obtained from our contractors. (Hear, hear.) I am happy to mention this as a proof of the friendly action of the French government (hear, hear.)"

The danger of war with America soon passed away. The act of the indiscreet

commander, Wilks, was disowned; and England and America, happily for themselves, and the world's welfare, remained at peace. The Quakers, as usual, had been alive and active. They had sent up a deputation to Lord Palmerston, trusting, that if the answer of the American government was unfriendly, the matter might be referred to arbitration—a principle which the British government, to its great honour, was the first to commend to the attention of the Paris conference of 1854, through the mouth of Lord Clarendon. Lord Palmerston was reminded that, on that occasion, the members of the conference did not hesitate to declare, in the name of their governments, the wish that states between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should, before appealing to arms, have recourse, so far as circumstances might allow, to the good offices of a friendly power.

"The principle thus formally consecrated by the sanction of all the great governments of Europe, has since received the spontaneous and cordial homage of eminent statesmen of this country, of various political parties. It was described by Mr. Gladstone, 'as a great triumph; a powerful engine on behalf of civilisation and humanity.'"

In conclusion, they said—"We would further remind your lordship, that Great Britain and the United States have already, in their relations with each other, solemnly recognised this principle, even in its most rigid form of application. In a treaty between the two governments, relative to fisheries, commerce, and navigation, ratified at Washington September 9th, 1854, there is a clause which provides that, in case of any differences arising between the contracting parties on any matter connected with the treaty, the question in dispute shall be referred first to commissioners; and, in the last resort, to an arbitrator or umpire, to be mutually chosen: 'the high contracting parties'—such are the terms of the treaty—'solemnly engaging to consider the decision of the commissioners conjointly, or of the arbitrator or umpire, as the case may be, as absolutely final and conclusive in each case decided upon by them or him respectively.'"

We had thus peace with France and with America; yet Lord Palmerston was still bent on spending millions and millions, to no purpose, in useless preparations for war.

In October, from highly influential quarters, the following memorandum had been forwarded to him:—

"The present peculiar and exceptional state of the English and French navies, the result of scientific progress in maritime armaments, offers an opportunity for a reciprocal arrangement between the two governments, of the highest interest to both countries.

"During the last century, and down almost to the present day, the relative naval strength of the two countries has been measured by the number of their line-of-battle ships. But, owing to the recent improvements in explosive shells, and other combustible missiles, and in the modes of projecting them, these large vessels have been pronounced, by competent judges, no longer suited for maritime warfare, and warning voices have even proclaimed that they will henceforth prove only a snare to those who employ them.

"This opinion has found utterance in several emphatic phrases.

"'Wooden ships of the line,' says one, 'will, in a future naval war, be nothing but human slaughter-houses.' 'They will be blown to lucifer-matches,' says another. A third authority tells us, that in case of a collision between two such vessels, at close quarters, the only words of command for which there will be time, will be, 'Fire, and lower your boats!' Whilst a fourth declares, that 'any government that should send such a vessel into action against an iron-plated ship would deserve to be impeached.'

"It hardly required such a weight of evidence to convince us, that to crowd nearly 1,000 men upon a huge wooden target, with thirty or forty tons of gun-powder at their feet, and expose them to a bombardment with detonating shells and other combustible projectiles, must be a very suicidal proceeding.



"The governments of the maritime states have shown that they share this opinion by abandoning the construction of line-of-battle ships.

"America, several years since, gave the preference to long, low vessels, possessing the utmost possible speed, and being capable of carrying the largest guns.

"France was the next to cease building ships of the line.

"The British government have come to the same decision; and they gave a pledge last session, with the approval of parliament, that they would not complete the vessels of this class which were unfinished on the stocks.

"It is under these circumstances that the two countries find themselves in possession of about one hundred wooden ships of the line with screw propellers. England has between sixty and seventy, and France between thirty and forty of these vessels, the greater part of them in commission; and their maintenance constitutes one of the principal items in the naval expenditure of the two countries.

"It will be admitted that if these vessels did not exist they would not now be constructed, and that when worn out they will not be renewed. It is equally indisputable, that they have been built by the two governments with a view to preserve a certain relative force towards each other.

"In proof that this rivalry has been confined exclusively to England and France, it may be stated, on the authority of the official representative of the Admiralty in the House of Commons, that Spain has only three, Russia nine, and Italy one, of this class of ships. America has only one.

"These circumstances suggest, as an obvious course to the two governments, that they should endeavour to come to an amicable agreement, by which the greater portion of these ships might be withdrawn, and so disposed of as to be rendered incapable of being again employed for warlike purposes. This might be effected by an arrangement which should preserve to each country precisely the same relative force after the reduction as before. For instance, assuming, merely for the sake of argument, England to possess sixty-five, and France thirty-five, then for every seven withdrawn by France, England should withdraw thirteen; and thus, to whatever extent the reduction was carried, provided this proportion were preserved, the two countries would still possess the same relative force. The first point on which an understanding should be come to, is as to the number of ships of the line actually possessed by each—a very simple question, inasmuch as it is not complicated with the comparison of vessels in different stages of construction. Then, the other main point is to agree upon a plan for making a fair selection, ship for ship, so that the withdrawals on both sides may be as nearly as possible of corresponding size or value. If the principle of a proportionate reduction be agreed to, far fewer difficulties will be found in carrying out the details than must have been encountered in arranging the plans of co-operation in the Crimean and Chinese wars, or in settling the details of the commercial treaty."

The memorandum argued, that just as the ships of the line had become obsolete, the new iron-plated vessels then building would, in turn, become the same; and that, in the meantime, France and England were wasting their wealth, and, by the financial pressure thus created, irritating the population of the two countries.

"The British tax-payers believe, on the authority of their leading statesmen, that the increased burden to which they are subjected is caused by the armaments on the other side of the Channel. The people of France are also taught to feel similarly aggrieved towards England. The feelings of mutual animosity, produced by this sacrifice of substantial interests, are not to be allayed by the exchange of occasional acts of friendship between the two *governments*. On the contrary, this inconsistent policy, in incessantly arming against each other at home, whilst uniting for common objects abroad, if it do not impair public confidence in their sincerity, tends at least to destroy all faith in an identity of interests between the rulers and the ruled, by showing how little advantage the peoples derive from the friendship of their governments.



"But the greatest-evil connected with these rival armaments is, that they destroy the strongest motives for peace. When two great neighbouring nations find themselves permanently subjected to a war expenditure, without the compensation of its usual excitements and honours, the danger to be apprehended is, that if an accident should occur to inflame their hostile passions—and we know how certain these accidents are at intervals to arise—their latent sense of suffering and injury may reconcile them to a rupture, as the only eventual escape from an otherwise perpetual war taxation in a time of peace.

"Circumstances appeal strongly to the two governments, at the present juncture, in favour of a measure of wise and safe economy. In consequence of the deplorable events in America, and the partial failure of the harvests of Europe, the commerce and manufactures of both countries are exposed to an ordeal of great suffering. Were the proposed naval reduction carried into effect, it would ameliorate the financial position of the governments, and afford the means for alleviating the fiscal burdens of the peoples. But the moral effect of such a measure would be still more important. It should be remembered; that although these large vessels have lost their value in the eyes of professional men, they preserve their traditional terrors for the world at large; and when they move about, in fleets, on neighbouring coasts, they excite apprehension in the public mind, and even check the spirit of commercial enterprise. Were such an amicable arrangement as has been suggested accomplished, it would be everywhere accepted as a pledge of peace, and, by inspiring confidence in the future, would help to reanimate the hopes of the great centres of trade and industry, not only in France and England, but throughout Europe.

"Will not the two governments, then, embrace this opportunity of giving effect to a policy, which, whilst involving no risk, or sacrifice of honour, or diminution of relative power, will tend to promote the present prosperity and future harmony of the two countries, and offer an example of wisdom and moderation worthy of this civilised age, and honourable to the fame of the two foremost nations of the earth?" It does not seem that the memorial had much weight with Lord Palmerston or his supporters in the House of Commons.

On the 3rd of June, 1862, Mr. Stansfeld proposed in the House a resolution, to the effect that "the national expenditure is capable of reduction without compromising the safety, the independence, or the legitimate influence of the country." This was a great field-night in the House. Several amendments had been put upon the paper—two or three more or less friendly to the government; and one—that of Mr. Walpole—was supposed to raise the direct issue of "no confidence." It was expected that the Tories and Radicals would join; that Lord Palmerston would be defeated; and that Lord Derby would come in. There was a crowded House; an unusually disordered preliminary debate; and great excitement in the House, and in the ladies' and the strangers' gallery. It turned out contrary to general expectation. There was no fight after all; and Mr. Walpole withdrew his amendment, apparently not a little to the chagrin of some of his own friends and supporters.

Mr. Cobden spoke before the close of the discussion. After a severe reply to Mr. Horsman, whom he accused of the most callous carelessness to the real welfare of the nation so long as the armaments were kept up in their inflated state, he undertook to deal with the plea that our expenditure was kept up on account of the necessity to protect ourselves against France. "Why should we not endeavour to produce peace and quiet in a cheaper way? We were in alliance with France. Why could not Lord Palmerston, or somebody else (he, Mr. Cobden, would undertake to do it), take the matter in hand, and talk over the question of the iron vessels? The consequences would be perfectly disastrous unless the government would address themselves to the task of retrenchment, and to the relations of the country with France." He continued—

"Look at what is going on beyond the Atlantic. Everybody has complained that America was very overbearing in her foreign policy. Very well; but bear in



mind America was never well armed. She had but fourteen or fifteen thousand soldiers: she never would have a fleet: she has not had a line-of-battle ship in commission for the last ten years—certainly not more than one. If, then, America played the bully without arms, what was it that impressed her will upon the rest of the world? Undoubtedly it was that you gave her credit for having vast resources behind her which were not unnecessarily displayed in a state of armed defiance. Well, what has been the result of the present deplorable war in America? You have seen that country manifesting a power such as I have no hesitation in saying no nation of the same population ever manifested in the same time. No country in Europe, possessing 20,000,000 of people, could put forth the might, could show the resources in men, money, and equipments that the Federal States of America have done during the last twelve months. Taking the whole country together, about 30,000,000 of people have kept nearly 1,000,000 men in arms; and they have, upon the whole, been equipped and supplied as no other army ever was before. Why was that? Simply because the Americans had not exhausted themselves previously by high taxation. They were a prosperous people. Their wages and profits were high, because their taxation was low; and as they were earning quite twice as much as the people of Europe earned when the war broke out, they had only to restrict themselves to one-half of their usual enjoyments, and they found means of carrying on the war. That, I think, is a doctrine that applies to us as well as to the Americans; and I deny that a nation increases its power, and is better prepared for carrying on war, because it always maintains a large war establishment in time of peace.”

The nation and the Premier were deaf to all Mr. Cobden's reasonings. In one of his last speeches, the great free-trader undertook to show, that the alarmist government statements about the strength of the French navy were entirely fallacious and delusive. He continued—“In the whole of the past five years, I defy any one to show an instance in which the noble lord (Lord Palmerston) has advocated an increase of our naval armament in reference to any other country than France. We have heard from him the word ‘invasion’ a dozen times within the last few years. Now, for a Prime Minister to talk about this country being invaded by a friendly power, without one fact to justify the suspicion of it—on the contrary, when the navy of that government is less than at any former time—is to commit this country to an attitude towards that neighbouring power, that no minister ought to give it with the levity of indiscretion that has marked the noble lord's course on the subject.”

It is only fair to Mr. Cobden's memory to quote the closing passage of this speech, in which he clearly showed that he was not an advocate for peace at any price.

“There is no question in this House as to defending the country against a foreign enemy. It would be a piece of supreme impertinence in me, or any other man, to lay claim to an exclusive interest or regard for the security of the country against a foreign enemy; and I hold the man to be a charlatan who sets up a claim to popularity because he holds the honour and safety of the country in higher estimation than I do. That is not the question here, where every man has an equal interest in the safety of his country. We may take different views, as we are entitled to do, as to the best modes of fortifying, and permanently defending the country. Some think we cannot do better than appeal for armaments and fortifications, in addition to our existing resources in time of peace, notwithstanding the weight of taxation under which the country is struggling; while others, like myself, may think with Sir Robert Peel, that you cannot defend every part of your coast and colonies; and that, in attempting to do so, you run a greater risk of danger to the country than you would incur by husbanding the resources which you are now expending upon armaments, so as to have them at call in time of emergency. That is my view. Let no one presume or dare to say that he has more regard for the safety of the country than I have. They may try to create

imaginary dangers, and to take credit for guarding against them. But give us a real danger; show us that our navy is not equal to our defence; that a neighbour is clandestinely and unduly trying to change the proportion which its force should bear to that of the mercantile people living in our island, and then I would willingly vote £100,000,000 of money to protect our country against attack. But in saying this I claim no merit; I do not set myself up as a great patriot; for there is nobody here but what would put his hand in his pocket, and spend his whole fortune, rather than have this island defiled by the foot of an enemy.

“Our wealth, commerce, and manufactures grow out of the unskilled labour of men working in metals. There is not one of those men, who, in case of our being assailed by a foreign power, would not, in three weeks or a fortnight, be available, with their hard hands and thoughtful brains, for the manufacture of instruments of war. That is not an industry that requires you, at every step, to multiply your armed men. What has given us our Armstrongs, our Fairbairns, our Whitworths? The industry of the country in which they are mainly occupied. It has been sometimes made a reproach against me and my friends, the free-traders, that we would leave the country defenceless. I say, if you have multiplied the means of defence; if you can build three times as many steamers in the same time as other countries; and if you have that threefold force of mechanics of which my honourable friend has spoken—to whom do you owe that but to the men who, by contending for the true principles of commerce, have created a demand for the labour of an increased number of artisans in this country? Go to Plymouth or Woolwich, and look at the names of the tools for making fire-arms, and shot and shell; they bear the names of men in Birmingham, in Manchester, and Leeds—men nearly all connected, for the last twenty years, with the extension of our commerce, which has thus contributed to the increase of the strength of the country by calling forth its genius and its skill. I resist the attempt which has been made to show that I am not a promoter of the strength, the power, and the greatness of this country; or that I, or any of those who act with me, have been indifferent to, or ignorant of what constitutes the real strength and greatness of the country.”

On the economical part of the question, Mr. Cobden had, to a certain extent, an ally in Mr. Gladstone. More than once, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, he complained of the enormous and increasing expenditure of England and other countries in warlike matters. As regards ourselves, in his speech on the budget of April 3rd, 1862, he said—“Let me now present the subject to the committee more at large. Gathering together the transactions of the last three years, I will state the amount which, in those years, we have had to defray of what may fairly be called war expenditure. The account for China, up to March 31st, 1862, as I have just stated, is £7,034,000; but, in addition, we have had to pay, for a former war, £444,000; making a total, in round numbers, of £7,500,000. With respect to New Zealand, we have brought to charge at present £250,000; but that does not include any consideration of the question, how far the 5,000 or 6,000 men who have been in New Zealand, would have been kept on the establishment of the army if not wanted for service there. I ought likewise to state, that the sum I have named is only what we have both paid and brought to account up to March 31st, 1862; and I am bound to add, it does not cover the whole even of the direct charge for war expenditure in New Zealand. Again, the despatch of troops to British North America, in the past winter, disturbed the finance of the year; though it alike answered the necessity of the case, and the feeling of the country. It added to our charge the sum of £850,000. Hence, the total of the direct war charge we have incurred during the last three years, is £8,600,000, even when estimated upon a principle which, I think, undoubtedly places it below its real amount.”

In opening his budget in 1863, Mr. Gladstone again referred to our increasing expenditure as follows:—“The causes which have, during recent years, attracted an unusual degree of interest in the annual financial statement, are not



of such a nature that any well-advised lover of his country should desire their operation to be permanent. They may be summed up in the following words. The few years which have last past have been of unusual pressure upon the resources of the country, and have been, as times of unusual pressure must be, years likewise of unusual anxiety. During the course of the last session of parliament, that anxiety found its natural and most legitimate method of expression in a resolution of the House of Commons. In the resolution to which I refer, her majesty's government found it declared by the House (the proper organ of the sense of the country, especially upon such a subject), that while it was the desire of the House that—I am now not quoting the words, but referring to the spirit of the resolution—ample provision should be made for the honour and security of the country, and for the efficiency of the public service, it was likewise the fixed opinion of the House, that the burden of taxation was inconveniently heavy, and that efforts ought to be made in that respect to afford relief to the people. \* \* \*

And as it is well the people should understand—what, at the time I refer to, her majesty's government, by the mouth of my noble friend the First Lord of the Treasury, fully acknowledged—that that resolution was not premature, but, on the contrary, was well founded, and was fully justified by the circumstances of the case; it is well they should understand how rapid, how peculiar—I will venture to say how exceptional—up to a certain point, had been the growth of the public expenditure; and how much it was to be desired—indeed, how needful it had become—in the interests of the nation, that the subject should attract a particular attention. Now I will advert first to the expenditure of the financial year 1859, the first year subsequent to the Russian war, the accounts of which were not extensively affected by war charges. The expenditure of that year very considerably exceeded the scale of our expenditure before the war. It amounted to £64,664,000; but in the very next year, 1859--'60, the expenditure increased to £69,502,000, showing an augmentation of £4,838,000. In the next year, 1860--'61, the amount again rose, and came to £72,842,000, showing an augmentation of, within two years, no less than £8,178,000. I will next refer to the average of the four years from 1859 to 1863; and I take these four years because they are the years to which the general description of large disbursements particularly apply. The average charge of these years was £71,195,000, if we include the amount paid out upon fortifications; and £70,678,000 if that item be excluded. This increase upon the aggregate public debt is even larger than it seems, because it occurred at a time when we had enjoyed a peculiar relief, amounting to more than two millions of money, from the charge of the national debt, owing to the lapse of the long annuities."

This increase the orator accounted for as follows:—"There were extensive and costly transformations of arms and vessels, which appeared to be required by the progress of military or naval science. There was a great advance of philanthropic views with regard to the condition of our seamen and soldiers. This advanced the improved state of public sentiment; led to a great and somewhat sudden expenditure; but to an expenditure grudged, I believe, by none—at least as to the principle on which it rested. There was, thirdly, a great extension of our military establishments, having reference, in no inconsiderable degree—as must always be the case, from the sympathy that prevails between nation and nation—to a like increase in military establishments abroad, and to the general circumstances of Europe. There was, further, a desire, warmly and very generally, even if not quite unanimously entertained by the public, that the fixed defences of the country should be strengthened and enlarged. And yet, again, there were direct war charges, which amounted to a very large sum of money. All these causes of increase in the public expenditure were definite in their character, and easily traceable in their effect. But I should not do full justice to the elucidation of the case, if I failed to add, that, together with these causes, another cause came into operation, which is less easy to follow and detect, but which is pretty certain to exercise a

powerful influence at periods when, from whatever reason, a vast and sudden increase of public expenditure may occur. I mean in this, that, together with the called-for increase of expenditure, there grows up what may be termed a spirit of expenditure—a desire or tendency prevailing in the country, which insensibly, and unconsciously perhaps, but really, affects the spirit of the people, the spirit of the public department, and, perhaps, even the spirit of those whose duty it is to submit the estimates to parliament, and who are most specially and directly responsible for the disbursements of the state. When this spirit of expenditure is in action, we must expect to find some relaxation of the old principles of prudence and rules for thrift, which direct and require that, whatever service is to be performed for the public, should be executed in the most efficient manner, and at the least practical cost.”

These warning voices were uttered in vain. Our war expenditure goes on increasing. Any man who will consult the last Appropriation Act, will find that the charge for the army service during the year ending March 31st, 1865, was £14,340,000 sterling! The actual expenditure of the preceding year was rather more. Enormous as this sum is, we must remember it is exclusive of £11,000,000 paid for the navy, and of £13,000,000 expended in India, where we have 75,000 white soldiers, and troops of other kinds, running our account up to an enormous total. The nation is thus paying, it appears, hard upon £41,000,000, all things included, for its defence; and that is a peace estimate. To make matters worse, we find that we are paying from 25 to 60 per cent., and even more, above the charges of continental war-offices. Yet, in spite of this enormous expenditure, it appears, from a parliamentary return just issued, that we could, in case of invasion, muster no more than 40,000 or 50,000 regulars. It appears, for every regular soldier, prepared to repel invasion, we are paying £300 a year. It is ten years since the Crimean war exposed the utter maladministration and reckless waste of the War-Office; and this is how we have improved! After lavishing the gains of industry upon the department in Whitehall, our army is so unpopular that bounty cannot bribe the rustic into it, and the regiments are not strong enough to perform their ordinary duties at home, and to keep up the necessary reliefs in our foreign and colonial stations. Spending more than any great power upon our soldiers, we yet count but a handful of effectives to every thousand of theirs. As a military nation, we had become, but for our volunteers, a laughing-stock and a by-word. The newly-published report, going out of its way to stir up our terrors, kindly informs us, that upon the sea we are no longer paramount, or even powerful; and it demands “a large increased expenditure” to bring the defensive forces of England merely to the standard of safety.

In his great speech of July 23rd, 1860, Lord Palmerston unfolded the government plan of coast defence. After a few retrospective remarks, his lordship said—

“Sir, the recommendations of the commissioners, which have been confirmed after revision by a committee of military officers, called the Defence Committee, amount to a recommendation of a total outlay of £11,000,000, in which is included £1,500,000 for armaments and floating defences. I hold that it is absolutely necessary, for the safety of the country, that these recommendations should be carried into effect. Now there are two ways of doing this. You may either vote annually such a portion of the annual income as the country would like to spend on a matter of this kind, and, by so doing, defer, perhaps for eighteen or twenty years, the accomplishment of these defences; or you may like that course which it will be my duty to recommend, and endeavour to complete them at the earliest possible period, without, at the same time, laying upon the country a larger annual burden than would be incurred if you prosecuted these works more slowly. I mean, you may, by raising terminable annuities, to run for thirty years—a sum that will be sufficient, in the course of three or four years, to complete these works—get, within a short period, the security you require; and you will not lay upon the country a much heavier annual burden than that which would be incurred if you



were to wait until the slow process of annual votes brought you the money necessary to carry those works to a conclusion. If these works are necessary, they are so as soon as we can get them. They are necessary for time present; and it would be folly to postpone, for eighteen or twenty years, the completion of defences against dangers which I hope may not arise; but dangers which we may contemplate as possible, and which, if possible, may be possible in a short space of time."

In reply to Lord Fortesque, it was stated by Lord de Grey and Ripon, that the volunteer force was 130,000 strong. People asked why, if we had such a force of volunteers, we should be required to spend so much in national defences and fortifications?—which, it was argued, would be of no earthly use when completed. The peace party maintained that commerce, and not stone walls, was our best security. Lord Palmerston, however, thought differently.

As to the necessity, said the noble viscount—"It is in no unfriendly spirit that I am speaking. No one has any right to take offence at considerations and reflections which are purely founded upon the principles of self-defence. \* \* \* We see in France an army of over 600,000 men, of whom above 400,000 are actually under arms; and the remainder are merely on furlough, and can be called into the ranks in a fortnight. That army is greater than France requires for the purpose of defence. No nation in the world would think, unprovoked, of attacking France. Nothing can be gained by it. No one would expect to dismember France; and no one would fare otherwise than ill who ventured upon an unprovoked attack on France; and therefore, for the defence of France, we may pronounce that vast army unnecessary. I do not mean to say that that army is raised for the deliberate purpose of aggression. I trust it is not: but the possession of power to aggress frequently gives the desire to do so. You cannot—you are not entitled to—rely upon the forbearance of a stronger neighbour. You are bound to make your defensive means proportionate to his means of aggression.

"But, sir, is it only on land that the arrangements of France are disproportionate to her necessities for defence? We know that the utmost exertions have been made, and still are making, to create a navy very equal to our own—a navy which cannot be required for purposes of defence, and which, therefore, we are justified in looking upon as a possible antagonist we may have to encounter—a navy which, under present arrangements, would give to our neighbours the means of transporting, within a very few hours, a large and formidable number of troops to our coast. But, further; while, on the one hand, the French navy has increased far beyond any amount that it has reached since the end of the last war, our navy has, on the other hand, from the changes which have taken place, from sailing ships to steam, necessarily diminished in numbers."

An invasion, argued his lordship, might be attempted, either with the hope of conquest, or with a view to get possession of the metropolis, or to destroy our dockyards. London it was impossible to fortify. It could only be defended by an army in the field. If our dockyards were destroyed, we lose our navy, and the command of the sea.

"But your army being limited in amount, and your military means limited, and your dockyards—points that require defence—the way to get the largest possible force to meet an enemy in the field, is to make arrangements for requiring the smallest amount of military force to defend these important positions—your dockyards and your arsenals. \* \* \* There are those who say, why should you confine your defences to such places as Portsmouth, Plymouth, Devonport, Pembroke, and the like, and leave London undefended? My answer is, that ditches, and walls, and bastions are not a defence for a great, vast city like London. \* \* \* Then we are told that we ought not to confine our arrangements to our dockyards, and such other points. That there are other places of great importance. Liverpool, for instance; a port of great wealth and importance: Bristol, Newcastle, and other seaports. My answer to those who make this objection is, that we have not neglected these outposts; but that the defence of these great



commercial towns need not be of the same kind and character as those required for your dockyards." Lord Palmerston then referred to what was being done by France, Belgium, Prussia, Italy, and Russia, in the way of fortifications; and concluded by moving—"That it is the opinion of this committee, that towards providing for the construction of works for the defence of the royal dockyards and arsenals, and of the ports of Dover and Portland, and for the creation of a central arsenal, a sum not exceeding £2,000,000 (the sum to be taken that year) be charged upon the consolidated fund."

In the adjourned debate, Lord Palmerston repeated—"We want to protect our dockyards and certain other important points from being taken by a *coup-de-main*. \* \* \* \* In time of peace it would not be necessary to make any addition to your regular army as the result of the erection of these forts; while, in time of war, you might man them by placing behind them troops competent for their defence, although, perhaps, less perfect in training than your picked soldiers. I may add that, if you should not possess the works of this description necessary to defend your dockyards, you would be compelled, as is well stated by the commissioners, to keep up a larger number of men than would otherwise be required for the purpose of defending those very places which we now ask you to enable us to fortify."

These arguments found favour with the House. On a division, the amendment was rejected by 165 to 37; and the original question was put and agreed to.

The next great debate on the subject was on June 23rd, 1862. There had been a little skirmishing in 1861, when Sir Cornewall Lewis entered into a long account of what had been done at Portsmouth and Plymouth. With regard to Spithead, continued the honourable baronet—

"It will be in the recollection of the committee, that, soon after the action which took place between the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*, and which was suffered to have an important bearing on the construction of these forts, considerable difference of opinion was manifested on the subject; and the government, yielding to the wish of the House, suspended the works; and a considerable sum, I fear, will have to be paid the contractor as compensation for the suspension. A large portion of the working season of the year has now been lost. In the meantime, however, experiments have been in progress in Shoeburyness, which are believed to have a direct bearing on the question—how far these forts would be able, with heavy ordnance, to stop a vessel entering the roads?"

Viscount Palmerston, after referring to the remarks of previous speakers, said—

"Some honourable gentlemen deal very summarily with these matters. Some say—'Do not fortify your dockyards;' others—'Do not have so great a standing army;' and others, again, maintain that the fleet is too large. That is not the common opinion of the country on any of these points; but, if all these opinions were acted upon, the result would be, that the country would have neither fleet nor army, nor a dockyard; and that we should have to rely entirely on the good-will, kindness, and forbearance of our neighbours to protect us, in all possible contingencies, against any difficulties in which we might be involved. I do not think that is the feeling of the British nation. I think, on the contrary, that the British nation feels, and I am sure that this House feels, that a country like this ought to be on a footing of respectability, at all events, and with the means of defending itself against all enemies. I have been told this evening, that the grounds on which I proposed this vote on a former occasion—two years ago—were offensive to a neighbouring power. I deny entirely that assertion. I then based the vote, as I do now, entirely on grounds which are essential to a good understanding with all powers. With respect to France, which was the power mentioned, I should say that a footing of equality, in regard to self-defence, is the only possible foundation for a strong friendship and alliance—

" 'Paribus se legibus ambæ,  
Invictæ gentes eterna et federa mittant.'



“So long as nations are equal, they are likely to be friends. We all know how quickly passions are excited, and how easily nations are led away. We know how impossible it is to reckon on the friendly feelings of any nation, even for a twelve-month. We have had an example of this in America; and, therefore, we should be acting culpably towards ourselves, and not fairly towards other countries, if, in the notion, or even in the conviction, that other countries would remain friendly to us, we should leave ourselves destitute of those means of defence which every nation is bound to provide for itself.”

The second reading of the Fortification Bill was carried on the 30th of June. Lord Palmerston said—

“These works are of two descriptions; some are for the purpose of meeting attacks from the sea; others for the purpose of meeting attacks from the land. Now, some gentlemen say it is absurd and nonsensical to think of invasion. With all respect and deference to them, that opinion seems to me nonsensical and absurd. Why, really, can any man who respects his audience, gravely tell the people of England that invasion is impossible. Look at the history of this country. Few countries have been oftener threatened with invasion than this island. We were in great danger of invasion in the time of the late war with France; and I believe that nothing saved this country then but the battle of Trafalgar. It is said you cannot be invaded, because no enemy can land a large force within the given time. What did the French do about three years ago, when a large body of men was sent to Italy? Of course, honourable gentlemen recollect the rapidity with which that large force was despatched from Toulon and Marseilles; and was landed with the utmost facility, together with all their guns and ammunition. Then it was said it was all very well to land in a port, but that landing on the coast is a very difficult operation; and that when we landed in the Crimea, if there had been a few guns to resist us, the landing could not have been effected. If that is the case, then, I say, give us the guns to defend the places likely to be attacked; and do not disparage the forts, placed in a position to prevent the landing of an enemy. People talk of 100,000 men landing; but it is not necessary to land 100,000 men in one place to destroy the dockyards: for, supposing Portsmouth to be open, then if 20,000 men were landed there, 20,000 at Plymouth, 20,000 in Ireland, and 20,000 made diversions elsewhere, I should like to know whether, considering the small garrisons put in such places, unassisted by works, the dockyards would not be destroyed; and with them all our power at sea to defend the commerce and coasts of this country. \* \* \* \* It has been said that the application of steam-power on board of vessels has made the blockading of a foreign port more easy. On the contrary, it has rendered it infinitely more difficult and uncertain, because the ships of the blockading squadron must be perpetually returning to this country to replenish their coal. They carry coal for about ten days; and the force must, of course, be of such an amount as to make allowances for vessels coming here and going back again. On the other hand, the ships watching to break the blockade, being propelled by steam, are independent of the weather and of tides; and, seizing their opportunity, might come out in the evening, cross the Channel in the course of the night, and be upon our shores next morning. Steam, therefore, instead of giving facilities for blockade, only gives facilities for the blockaded force to come out and reach the place it intends to arrive at. \* \* \* \* Some honourable gentlemen maintain that field-works would be sufficient; and mention has been made of Sebastopol, and other places, in connection with this subject. Field-works are good things, undoubtedly, when there is a large force behind them; but field-works, as military men know, can be assaulted and run into; and there requires to be behind them a force nearly equal to that which attacks them. But when you have counterscarps and *glacis*, and the other arrangements of fortified places, you cannot take them at all, if well fortified; and therefore, if you want a small body of men, less disciplined than the attacking force, to maintain

themselves in any position, you must give them all the advantages which science supplies in the art of defence. With regard to Sebastopol, it should be recollected there was an immense army behind it, as large, or larger, than the attacking army; and each party took about three weeks to prepare. Now, if an attack were made on any of our ports—on Portsmouth or Plymouth—I do not think that the enemy would give us three weeks to prepare our defences. We must have them ready beforehand; and therefore it is in vain to say that field-works would stand in lieu of fortifications. You would not, in a case of emergency, have time to make them; and when made, they would not give the same advantage to a force less disciplined than the attacking army, as fortifications. My honourable friend, who spoke last (Sir Morton Peto), said that we ought to abandon our dockyards—that they are unnecessary—and that we ought to have nothing but iron ships; and that these are best constructed in private yards. I have heard the example of America often quoted as a model for imitation in this country; and it is but very recently that the government of America announced their intention of establishing great naval arsenals on the Mississippi and elsewhere, for the construction, in government arsenals, of iron ships. They distinctly stated that they did not wish to trust to private enterprise for the purpose. We do not follow that example in all respects; but as my noble friend (Lord C. Paget) has stated, building a ship is one thing, and keeping it in repair is another. You cannot send ships to private yards, from time to time, for repairs.”

On July 7th, in committee on the bill, Lord Palmerston thus replied to Mr. Cobden's attacks:—

“I differ so entirely from the honourable member, that it is quite natural I should feel proud of being the object of the honourable member's attack. He says that I am actuated by an idea. Sir, I am actuated by an idea. My idea seems never to have entered the fertile brain of the honourable member. My idea is, that England ought to be defended—that her navy cannot exist without her dockyards; and that those dockyards must be placed in a safe position, against sudden attacks. The honourable member has told us that he is ready to spend £1,000,000 to maintain a good navy. Now we do not wish him to do any such thing. We ask for no more than the moderate sum recommended by the defence commissioners, to place our naval arsenals in a state of safety. I say that the honourable member for Rochdale is in a state of blindness and delusion, which renders him unfit to be listened to by the country as an adviser on matters of this sort. When the honourable member deals in matters that he understands, when he descants on questions of free trade and commerce, we generally listen to the honourable gentleman with the utmost deference and respect. He understands those subjects; he is imbued with sound principles; and his conclusions command our assent. But he goes beyond his *crepidam* on such matters as these. When he descants on our naval and military defences, he goes beyond the scope of his knowledge, and beyond the reach to which his understanding has extended; and he becomes a most dangerous adviser to this House and the country.”

In 1863, the fight was renewed. The votes were—ayes, 132; noes, 61. Lord Palmerston's speech was spirited and successful. Mr. Cobden and his party were not, however, by any means vanquished. The last speech of that excellent man was delivered in July, 1864, when he moved a series of resolutions, deprecating of the great extension of the government manufacturing establishments. He cited as an authority Burke, who, in a speech delivered in 1780, “laid down, in language which it is impossible to surpass, the reason why the government should not manufacture its own supplies, but should depend upon the competition of individual manufacturers.” “He said,” observes Mr. M'Gilchrist, who has ably epitomised the speech, “the negligence of the government and the Treasury had become so great, and the departments had taken upon themselves such an immense increase of manufacture, that they laughed at the idea of parliament superintending the details of the administration. Indeed, Mr. Cobden himself objected to parlia-



ment undertaking such functions. He thought the House could interfere, with great advantage, in prescribing the principles on which the executive government could be carried on: but beyond that, he held it to be utterly impossible for the legislature to interfere with advantage in the details of the administration of the country: and he said that, in the early years of his experience in parliament, when Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, he would have resented the appointment of the parliamentary committees of inquiry into the details of administration, as tantamount to votes of want of confidence. Sir Robert would have said, if such a committee had been proposed in his time, and when he held the reins of power, 'If you think the administration is not satisfactorily conducted by me, then you must find somebody else to undertake it.' To give some idea of the rapidity of the rate at which government had become manufacturers, Mr. Cobden reminded the House, that up to the close of the Crimean war, the British government had never cast a cannon, or made a shot or shell: and when it was determined to cast 68-pounders at Woolwich, the proprietors of the Low Moor works—who had previously supplied the government, and who not only took selected qualities of their own iron, which is the best, but used coal of a peculiar kind, fresh from the earth, to smelt it—would not sell pig-iron to the Woolwich establishment. The result was, that having got the machinery for casting guns, there was no iron fit to cast. They had to go into the market, and buy the ordinary kind of pig-iron; and, as a consequence, the guns were pronounced rotten, and never used. He then told the story of the government and Whitworth and Armstrong guns; and dwelt with great glee upon the *naïveté* with which the leading men at Woolwich came before the committee appointed by the House, and tried to show that they were producing the guns cheaper than at Elswick, Sir William Armstrong's factory; forgetting that the two were one and the same concern—Sir William's works being as much a government establishment as that at Woolwich; for they were both started by the government with the nation's capital."

As regards small-arms the same course had been pursued. "Till the close of the Crimean war the government did not manufacture a single rifle: they were furnished by private contractors, and spoken of in the highest terms by the Sebastopol committee of 1855; while the medical, commissariat, and other departments were unflinchingly condemned. But the government gets an idea into their heads that, at some moment of dire necessity, when they are in great need of rifles, there might be a strike among some class of the workmen who manufacture their various parts; the more so, as if only the maker of the lock struck, it would stop the manufacture and delivery of the whole rifle. This was quite true; and the natural remedy was, that they should give orders to capitalists, who would set up machinery for manufacturing the whole musket. But government could not be made to comprehend a thing so obvious as this, and erected an enormous manufactory for the construction of rifled small-arms at Enfield; and they actually sent to America to procure the necessary machinery. And now all had gone for nothing, for the superiority of the Lancaster and Whitworth to the Enfield rifles had been acknowledged."

In referring to the difficulty found in making the conductors of the government establishments understand the value of capital, Mr. Cobden observed—"You never could make the gentlemen at the head of the departments understand that they must pay interest for capital, rent for land, as well as allow for depreciation of plant and machinery. The manner in which the government officials chuckled over the supposed greater cheapness of their results compared with those of the private manufacturer, always reminded him of the story of the gipsies, who sold brooms. One said to the other, 'I can't conceive how you can afford to sell your brooms cheaper than I do, for I steal all my materials.' 'Oh,' says the other, 'but I steal my brooms ready-made.'"

In the same way, Mr. Cobden termed "Lord de Grey and Ripon" the most extensive tailor in the world, and once more propounded his oft-repeated views as

to the folly of large expenditure for ships in the present transitory state of naval architecture, and the science of gunnery. His closing words were—

“I know of nothing so calculated, some day, to produce a democratic revolution, as for the proud and combative people of this country to find themselves, in this vital matter of their defence, sacrificed through the mismanagement and neglect of the class to whom, with such liberality, they have confided the care and future destinies of the country. You have brought this upon yourselves by undertaking to be producers and manufacturers. I advise you, in future, to place yourselves entirely in dependence upon the private manufacturing resources of the country. If you want gunpowder, artillery, small-arms, or the hulls of ships of war, let it be known that you depend upon the private enterprise of the country, and you will get them. At all events, you will absolve yourselves from the responsibility of attempting to do things which you are not competent to do; and you will be entitled to say to the British people—‘Our fortunes, as a government and a nation, are industriously united; and we will rise or fall, flourish or fade, together, according to the energy, enterprise, and ability of the great body of the manufacturing and industrious community.’”

Mr. Cobden was not alone in his attacks on government. Sir Morton Peto, Mr. Bernal Osborne, and others, repeatedly censured the government plans. On March 12th, 1863, a motion of Mr. Lindsay’s against building wooden ships to be cased with iron armour-plates, was rejected, after a long discussion, by 164 to 81. As far back as 1861, he had moved three resolutions on the subject of the construction of ships of war, deprecating any further expenditure on the building or repair of wooden ships; but with little success. In the same year, Sir Frederick Smith had moved—“That it is expedient that such reforms should be made in the control and management of the naval yards as will tend to promote greater efficiency, and, consequently, to insure greater economy in these establishments.” But the motion had been withdrawn. The real truth is, the class of officers in parliament, belonging to the army and navy, swamp the independent members, and render economical reform almost impossible. Backed by government, they are irresistible. In vain an independent member opposes: his arguments are borne down by weight of numbers, who have a direct interest in large expenditure. A spendthrift, while his money lasts, is always popular; and the same rule holds good with regard to governments. Independently of that, a large expenditure means a large amount of the kind of influence without which, in old reform times, it was argued, by the Duke of Wellington, that it would be impossible to carry on the government of the country: and then argued the immense majority of the public—“Let us be secure, at whatever cost.” The nation knew little of the matter. All it wanted was, that what was necessary should be done; and, as the naval and military men had quite made up their minds that millions were to be spent in the erection of forts; in the invention and improvement of projectiles; in the construction of iron-clads; and, as Lord Palmerston was of the same opinion, the money, however enormous the amount, was readily voted.

One other voice was also raised on behalf of peace, and an economical army and navy expenditure. In spite of the opinion of what was termed “society”—of the gossip of the clubs—of the interested pressure of officers inside the House or out—*Punch*, at this time, ridiculed the efforts we were making on all sides to increase an immense extravagance—an extravagance of which alone a wealthy people could be guilty. In an article headed, “A Probable Chronology,” we read—“1860. Mr. Armstrong, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, invents rifled ordnance that will knock any ship to pieces. He is knighted, and the Admiralty is benighted. 1861. The Admiralty recovers, and invents iron ships that resist any known cannon-balls. 1862. Sir William Armstrong invents a gun that smashes the iron ships into black smithereens. The Admiralty collapses. 1863. The Admiralty re-expands, and invents platina ships fastened with diamond cement, and Sir William Armstrong’s balls fly to pieces like *bon-bons*. Mr. Gladstone doubles the income-tax.



1864. Sir William Armstrong invents brazen thunderbolts (supposed to be the original Jupiter's), and, in a pleasing experiment, sends the greater part of the British fleet to the bottom of the sea. 1865. The Admiralty invents torpedo vessels, which sail under water, and below any range of guns. Sir William Armstrong tears his hair, and swears in the Newcastle dialect. 1866. Sir William Armstrong invents a vertical gun that discharges Greek fire straight down, and a second time he destroys the greater part of the British fleet. The Lords of the Admiralty are about to hang themselves, when a thought strikes them, and they don't. Mr. Gladstone again doubles the income-tax. 1867. Dr. Cumming, who has for some weeks been having in his coals by the sack only, suddenly proclaims the Millennium. As there is now to be peace everywhere, the Admiralty does not invent anything, but waits to see. In order to test Dr. Cumming's veracity, and to find out whether lions will lie down with kids, the Zoological Society (against the advice of their excellent secretary, Mr. Selater) let loose their biggest lion while a charity-school is in the gardens. As the lion, instead of lying down with a kid, only lies down to digest him, the Admiralty thinks there is some mistake somewhere, and determines to invent a new fleet. Mr. Gladstone once more doubles the income-tax. 1868. The Admiralty invents a stone fleet, with cork keels, and defies Sir William Armstrong. 1869. Sir William Armstrong invents the Hannibal, or alp-shell, which contains the strongest vinegar, and melts the stone ships. Having, for the third time, destroyed the British fleet, he is raised to the peerage as Lord Bomb. 1870. The Admiralty invents an aerial fleet, which sails in the clouds, out of shot-range, and the First Lord takes a double sight at Sir William Armstrong. Mr. Gladstone a fourth time doubles the income-tax. 1871. Lord Bomb invents a balloon battering-train, and, in an experimental discharge, brings down all the British fleet into the German Ocean. 1872. The Admiralty, in desperation, invents a subterranean fleet, which is to be conveyed by tunnels to all the colonies; but Mr. Gladstone blandly suggests, that, as everybody now pays twice his income in taxes, the people may object to further imposts unless some proof of economy is given. Government, therefore, stop the pensions of 100 superannuated clerks, discharge some extra night-porters at the Treasury, and bring in estimates for the subterranean fleet. 1873. Lord Bomb invents his typhæons, or earthquake shells, and suffocates the British fleet in the Tasmania Tunnel. Mr. Gladstone a fifth time doubles the income-tax. 1874. The Emperor of the French proclaims the Millennium, which, of course, immediately occurs; no more war ships are wanted, and the collectors remit the quarter's income-tax not yet due. Lord Bomb invents his volcano fireworks in honour of the occasion, and, by some accident, burns up the public."

Ridicule was not thrown away. While we had entered on a career of commerce and free trade—a career impossible except on the maintenance of perfect peace—it did seem most extraordinary and inconsistent to be preparing, at the same time, for wars evidently to be more bloody and destructive than any that had been waged and won by England in days gone by.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE AMERICAN WAR, AND LANCASHIRE DISTRESS.

IN England, it began to be felt, in 1860, that the American republic was divided into two parties—those who kept slaves, and those who held slavery to be at variance with the laws of God and man. The abolitionists were strong in the north of America, the slave-owners in the south.

The first collision between the opposing parties was occasioned by the fight for territories. Years ago, it had been decided by the representatives of the nation, in Congress assembled, that the spirit of the Federal constitution solemnly, as they phrased it, and for ever, prohibited the existence of slavery "in all that territory which lies north of 36° 30'." This compromise was afterwards repealed; and it was left for each state to decide whether it would be slave or free.

In 1856 there was a great battle about Kansas. Was it to be admitted to the Union; and if so, as a free or slave state? The opposing parties planted themselves in it as quickly as they could. Ultimately it entered the Union under an anti-slavery constitution; and the Southern planters prepared for vengeance. Up to this time all the power of the North had been in their hands. Mr. Alexander N. Stephens, the vice-president of the Confederacy before disruption, admitted that the South had always possessed the control of the government; that it had a majority of presidents chosen from among themselves. The South had had sixty years of presidents, and the North only twenty-four: of the Supreme Court, eighteen judges were South, and eleven sprung from the North. Presidents of the senate had been twenty from the South, against eleven from the North; and Speakers of the House, twenty-three to twelve; Attorney-generals, fourteen for the South, against five for the North; and Foreign Ministers, eighty-six to fifty-four. Though three-fourths of the business requiring diplomatic agencies abroad were from the free states, the higher officers of the army and navy were, by a vast majority, men of the South; while the soldiers and sailors were Northerns. More than two-thirds of the clerks, auditors, comptrollers, filling the executive department for the last fifty years, had been nominees of the South, though only one-third of the white population of the country belonged to the South; and more than three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the government, have uniformly been raised from the North. These are admissions made by Mr. Stephens himself, who further asked—"What right has the North assailed? What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied? And what claim, founded on justice and right, has been withheld? Can either of you, to-day, name one governmental act of wrong deliberately and purposely done by the government of Washington, of which the South has a right to complain?"

According to Mr. Beecher, it was in 1848 the first endeavour was made in the Northern States to form a platform that should carry rebuke to the slave-holding ideas of the South. "Before this, however, I can say, that under God, the South itself had, unintentionally, done more than we to carry on this work of emancipation. First, they began to declare, after the days of Mr. Calhoun, that they accepted slavery no longer as a misfortune, but as a divine blessing. Mr. Calhoun advanced the doctrine, which is now the marrow of secession—that it was the duty of the general government, not merely to protect the local states from interference, but to make slavery equally national with liberty. In effect, the government was to see to it, that slavery received equivalents for every loss and disadvantage which, by the law of nature, it must sustain in a race against free institutions. The South having the control of government, knew, from the inherent weakness of their system, that, if it were confined, it was like *huge herds* feeding on small pastures, that soon gnaw the grass to the roots, and must have other pasture, or die. And then came, one after another, from the South, assertions of rights never before dreamed of. From them came the Mexican war for territory; from them came the annexation of Texas, and its entrance as a slave state; from them came that organised rowdyism in Congress, that browbeats every Northern man who had not sworn fealty to slavery—that filled all the Courts of Europe with ministers holding slave doctrines—that gave the majority of seats on the bench to slave-owning judges—and that gave, in fact, all our chief offices of trust, either to slave-owners, or to men who licked the feet of slave-owners. Then came that ever-memorable period, when, for the very purpose of humbling the North, and making it drink the bitter cup of humiliation, and showing to its people that the South



was their natural lord, was passed the Fugitive Slave Bill. \* \* \* But whom the devil entices he cheats. Our promised peace with the South, which was the thirty pieces of silver paid to us, turned into fire, and burnt the hands that took it. For how long was it, after this promised peace, that the Missouri compromise was abolished, in solemn disregard of a solemn compact? The first triumph of the North was the fact that Kansas became a free state. By this time a new conscience had been formed in the North, and a vast majority of all the Northern men stood fair and square on the subject of slavery. The result was, in time, the election of Abraham Lincoln. Did the South submit? No offence had been committed—none threatened; but the allegation was, that the election of a man known to be pledged against the extension of slavery, was not compatible with the safety of slavery as it then existed. On those grounds they took steps for secession."

We must pause here. At a turning-point in the life of a nation, or an individual, much depends upon a man. The election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency of that grand and great republic teaches many lessons. It illustrates, in a peculiar way, the free character of American institutions. He was a self-made man, and rose to be, for a time, a king amongst his class. Not a working-man in this country—not a mechanic or peasant in this land of ours, but can gather up a moral from his splendid success. True, none can hope to be elected to a similar position here; but in the Old World, as in the New, the law is, that the strong man—the man who can rule himself, the man of resolute endeavour—must rise. The rule is exemplified on a larger scale in America than here, simply because a new country abounds more with opportunities than an old one. Emerson tells us of "the sturdy lad from New Hampshire or Vermont, who, in turn, tries all the professions—who teams it, farms it, peddles it, keeps a school, preaches, edits a newspaper, goes to Congress, buys a township, and so forth, in successive years, and always, like a cat, falls on his feet." The new president belonged to this class. Six weeks' schooling seems all he ever had; a terrible uphill game had he to play. In starting, the chances were frightfully against him. Just as he was getting on, his partner, in an unfortunate speculation, plunged him into debt, and he had again to begin the world. Yet he never lost heart, and we see him gradually climbing up till he was placed in the topmost chair of state. In England, we should look long at such a man before we made him even an M.P.; but in America they manage things differently. As to whether he was qualified to rule the destinies of the republic, he soon let all the world perceive that he was equal to the work: and here we must confess that the practical effect of such success in America must—better than reams of letterpress, or millions of homilies—teach Americans to be men in the highest acceptation of the term. It is impossible to estimate the amount of stimulus to endeavour and industry, and self-denial, and upright conduct, which such a career as that of Abraham Lincoln must give to the youth and manhood, even when lowest in the social scale, of the United States. There is virtue in a land where such plain, unpretending, unassuming men as Abraham Lincoln can be lifted on the shoulders of the people into power. The following sketch of Lincoln's early days appeared in the *New York Tribune*:—

"A full and truthful biography of Abraham Lincoln would make a book of the deepest interest. He furnishes, in his history and individual character, a noble specimen of true moral courage and manhood—the best sample among us of the gigantic growth of intellect and character under the fostering influences of American institutions and society, when not dwarfed by idleness, dissipation, or dishonesty. Every labouring man in the country, toiling under the weight of poverty with a view to better days, and every student struggling for knowledge and advancement, under whatever difficulty, has stock in Old Abe, and may be justly proud of him as one of his class, who has demonstrated the distinguished success that may crown any honourable ambition properly cultivated.

"Forty-four years ago Mr. Lincoln's father emigrated from Kentucky to

Spencer County, Indiana, where he purchased a small farm. Ten years or so after, the project of a public school in the neighbourhood was started, and, meeting with encouragement, a log school-house was built, at which Abe, then about sixteen years old, and who had never attended school before, was installed. Exactly six weeks after the school commenced, an execution against his father—the result of endorsing a note for a friend—swept away the little farm, and the student was compelled to leave school to join his parent, who, greatly disheartened by his misfortune, had determined to emigrate to Illinois with his family.

“In due time the Lincoln family reached Coles’ County, where it was decided to seek their fortunes. By dint of hard labour at low wages, enough money was saved, in the course of two years, to purchase and pay for eighty acres of government land. The son assisted his father for some time in the cultivation of his farm; but, becoming imbued with the spirit of enterprise, he eventually started out to find his fortunes; and, coming to Macoon County, after considerable difficulty in obtaining work, came across a Mr. Hawks, with whom he closed a contract to cut and split 3,000 rails. While at work at this job he found more time than heretofore to improve his mind; and it is stated of him, that when noon arrived, he would mount a log, swallow his dinner in eight or ten minutes, and then spend fifty minutes in close study before commencing his afternoon’s work. While engaged upon this job, our hero made the acquaintance of a man who proposed that they should build a flat boat; that he would stock it with grains and provisions; and that Abe should command the said flat boat on an expedition down the Sangamon river to the Illinois, down the Illinois river to the Mississippi, and down this river to New Orleans, when the flat boat and cargo should be disposed of. The enterprise looked promising; the flat boat was built and loaded; Captain Lincoln proceeded on his voyage, and, in due time, arrived in New York; disposed of boat and cargo, and shipped for home as a deck-hand on board one of the Mississippi river steam-boats.

“The first flat-boat expedition proved so successful that two others were projected; and, by the time they were completed, Lincoln had saved several hundred dollars. With this money he opened a small store, at a settlement known as New Salem; and, with the usual foolishness of new beginners in business, he took in a partner. ‘I reckon now,’ said Lincoln, alluding to the enterprise on a future occasion, with one of those proverbially comical expressions of countenance—‘I reckon now that *that* was the store;’ and I judge, from his ludicrous description of its miscellaneous contents, that it might have been. However, the new business went along badly, and did not prove profitable. The partner insisted that they must add some whiskey to their stock in trade if they would save themselves; but to this proposition Lincoln stoutly objected; but the partner as stoutly insisting, Lincoln finally sold out to him. About this time the Black Hawk war was the subject of excitement. A new militia company was to be formed, and there was a strife as to who should be the captain. There was a tall pompous fellow in the neighbourhood, glorying in the military title of ‘Major,’ who was very anxious for the new office, and who felt confident of obtaining it. When the day of election arrived there proved to be from a dozen to fifteen candidates for the captaincy. The plan of election adopted was novel. A space was cleared, and it was agreed that each candidate should march across this space, with his friends following him in single file; and the man who had the largest procession of friends should be declared the captain. While the processions were forming, some of the ‘boys’ caught Lincoln by the arm, and declared that he should be a candidate. He protested that he knew nothing about military matters; but a stout fellow pushed him forward while his supporters formed behind. Great was the astonishment and mortification of the major when he discovered that Lincoln’s procession outnumbered his own by two men; and Lincoln was therefore declared to be captain.

“Upon Lincoln’s return from the war, he discovered that his old partner had been his own best customer in the whiskey traffic, and that he had ‘decamped’



without paying the debts of the trading concern, amounting to 1,100 dols., and without leaving anything to pay them with. 'Here, then, I was,' said Mr. Lincoln once to a friend, '1,100 dols. in debt, or 1,100 dols. worse off than at any time in my life before; for I had not a single dollar to pay this indebtedness with. What to do I was at a loss to know. I thought the matter over for many days, and was greatly distressed. To go to work at the customary wages of a 'hired hand,' and earn 1,100 dols.—it seemed as if I could not do it. But I determined at last to try. I never in my life knew a man who, resolved to do his duty, did not have some means opened up to him—no matter how impossible, seemingly, was the accomplishment of that duty at the start.' And so it proved in this case with honest Abe. Stumbling, accidentally, upon a book on surveying, he at once made himself master of the science, and commenced the business of surveying as a profession, having in the meantime removed to Springfield. Here he made friends very fast, and soon became exceedingly popular; so much so, that he was selected as a Whig candidate for the legislature, and was triumphantly elected, holding the office for four years, during which time he became noted as a shrewd and intelligent debater. He saved money enough during these four years to pay off all his 1,100 dollars' indebtedness, even to the last shilling. During his legislative term he commenced studying law by the advice of Judge Logan and John D. Stewart, of Springfield, who had discovered in him the evidences of an acute and remarkable intellect. He was admitted to the bar a few months after, got married, and at once pushed forward to the front rank in his profession.

"Such is Mr. Lincoln's early history, given in meagre but truthful outline. I need only add that, in his personal habits, Mr. Lincoln has always been strictly abstemious, using neither tobacco nor spirituous liquor of any kind. No man, moreover, ever yet accused him of an ungenerous or a dishonourable act or thought. Said I not truly that he furnishes the best sample to be met with of the gigantic growth of intellect and character, under the fostering influences of American institutions and society, when not dwarfed by idleness, dissipation, or dishonesty?"

The personal appearance of Mr. Lincoln was thus described in the *Chicago Press and Tribune*:—"Mr. Lincoln stands six feet four inches high in his stockings. His frame is not muscular, but gaunt and wiry; his arms are long, but not unreasonably so for a person of his height; his lower limbs are not disproportionate to his body. In walking, his gait, though firm, is never brisk. He steps slowly and deliberately, almost always with his head inclined forwards, and his hands clasped behind his back. In matters of dress he is by no means precise. Always clean, he is never fashionable; he is careless, but not slovenly. In manner he is remarkably cordial, and, at the same time, simple. His politeness is always sincere, but never elaborate and oppressive. A warm shake of the hand, and a warmer smile of recognition, are his methods of greeting his friends. At rest, his features, though those of a man of mark, are not such as belong to a handsome man; but when his fine dark gray eyes are lighted up by any emotion, and his features begin their play, he would be chosen from among a crowd as one who had in him not only the kindly sentiments which women love, but the heavier metal of which full-grown men and presidents are made. His hair is black, and, though thin, is wiry. His head sits well on his shoulders, but beyond that it defies description. It nearer resembles that of Clay than Webster; but it is unlike either. It is very large, and, phrenologically, well proportioned, betokening power in all its developments. A slightly Roman nose, a wide-cut mouth, and a large complexion, with the appearance of having been weather-beaten, complete the description."

Secession had commenced long before Abraham Lincoln was placed in the presidential chair. South Carolina led the way. On the 20th of December, 1860, a convention, held at Charleston, declared the union of the American states dissolved. She was followed by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee. North Carolina was the last to withdraw

from the North, which she did on May 20th, 1861. The aggregate area of these eleven states was 767,893 square miles, which is more than eight times the area of Great Britain. According to the census of 1860, the free population of these eleven states was 5,581,649; the slave population, 3,520,116: total, 9,101,765.

The first shot was fired on the 9th of January. A vessel sent with troops and stores to reinforce Fort Sumter, at the entrance of Charleston harbour, as she was passing Morris Island, was fired upon, when she stopped her course, and retired.

On the 9th of February, a convention of the seven states which had then seceded (held at Montgomery, in Alabama), elected Mr. Jefferson Davis to be provisional president of the Confederate States; and, on the 18th, he was inaugurated.

On the 4th of March, the South lost their friend in Mr. Buchanan, who had been, as president, entirely subservient to them; and Mr. Abraham Lincoln assumed office. Naturally, he was reluctant to proceed to extremities. He made, on this occasion, the following statement:—"I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so. Those who elected me, did so with the full knowledge that I had made this, and similar declarations, and have never revoked them. And more than this, they placed on the platform, and as a law to themselves and me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read—'Resolved, that the maintenance, inviolate, of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state, to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any state or territory—no matter under what pretext—as the gravest of crimes.'" But the South had no faith in the declarations of Mr. Lincoln or of the republicans, and refused all terms of accommodation. The issue was to be decided on the battle-field.

One of the first proceedings of Mr. Lincoln's government, was to endeavour to reinforce, and supply with provisions, the garrison at Charleston. For this purpose, a number of transports, under convoy of two ships of war, proceeded from New York; but the fleet was dispersed by a storm. Meantime, Major Anderson, who commanded the forces of the United States at Charleston, had evacuated Castle Pinckney and Fort Moultrie, and had removed the small garrisons to Fort Sumter. On the 11th of April, General Beauregard, who commanded the Confederate troops and forts at Charleston, sent a summons to Major Anderson to surrender. General Beauregard met with a refusal; and on the 12th commenced the bombardment of Sumter by the other forts and batteries. The assailed fort replied vigorously for some time; but the bombardment having continued about forty hours, the garrison surrendered. Major Anderson was courteously treated; and, on the following day, was started for New York. Only two or three men were killed, and a few wounded. The North was indignant, and immediately declared war. The militia, to the number of 75,000, were called out; the ports of the South were placed under blockade; the navy yard at Norfolk dismantled; and ships were destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Confederates. On the 3rd of May, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, calling out 42,000 volunteers; and directing that the regular army should be increased by 23,000 soldiers, and the navy by 18,000 seamen.

Equally determined was the South: 8,000,000 of dollars were raised as a loan, and 100,000 volunteers authorised to be accepted by the Confederate States' government for a twelvemonth's service. These efforts would have been in vain had it not been for the treason of one man. Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, when Secretary of War, under Mr. Buchanan's administration, had, by a single order, effected the transfer of 115,000 improved muskets and rifles, from the Springfield armoury and Watervliet arsenal, to different fortresses in the South.



Neither North nor South anticipated the terrible nature of the struggle on which they had entered. The New York papers derided the rebellion. The *Tribune* declared—"The nations of Europe may rest assured that Jefferson Davis and Co. will be emerging from the battlements at Washington, at least by the 4th of July. We spit upon a later and longer deferred justice."

The first serious contest of the war was to occur in the low country of Virginia. On the 10th of June the battle of Bethel was fought.

In July, the head-quarters of the Federals, commanded by General M'Dowell, were at Centreville, about twenty miles S.W. of Washington, and about eight miles from the Confederate forces at Manassas. At about six o'clock on the morning of the 21st of July, the first battle of importance between the two main armies was commenced, in the vicinity of a stream called Bull Run. During the forenoon the attacking party seemed to have the advantage, and pushed on bravely till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when General Beauregard, having unmasked certain concealed batteries, and General Johnston having come up with reinforcements, the Federal troops began to break and run. The retreat soon became a rout, and finally a panic; the flying army leaving behind them nearly all their artillery, a large portion of their small-arms, and most of their ammunition, baggage, and stores. The loss of the Federals was announced, officially, to have been 462 men and nineteen officers killed; and 947 men and sixty-four officers wounded. The loss of the Confederates was said to have been only sixty killed and wounded. The Confederate army was stated to have numbered 15,000 men, and the Federal army 18,000. At the end of October, General Scott, on account of his age and infirmity, resigned the command-in-chief of the army of the United States, and General M'Clellan was appointed to succeed him. By the end of the year, President Lincoln reported that the army consisted, altogether, of 660,971; and on the 31st of December, cash payments were suspended by the United States.

General M'Clellan had been lifted into an immense popularity by his successes in North-western Virginia. For weeks he had been the object of a sensation. His name was displayed in New York on placards, on banners, and in newspaper headings, with the phrase—"M'Clellan—two victories in one day." The newspapers gave him the title of the "Young Napoleon." He was only thirty-five years of age, small in stature, with black hair and moustache, and a remarkably military precision of manner. He was a pupil of West Point, and had been one of the American military commission to the Crimea. When appointed major-general of volunteers, by Governor Dennison, of Ohio, he had retired from the army, and was superintendent of the Ohio and Mississippi railway. After his taking the command of the army of the Potomac (as it was termed), he busied himself incessantly in superintending the drilling of his troops. Having at length brought his army into proper condition, the general advanced from Washington, and, on the 10th of March, proceeded to attack the Confederates at Manassas; but he was too late. General Beauregard had retreated, with all his stores. Instead of following him, General M'Clellan organised a new plan of operations for the reduction of Virginia, and capture of Richmond. Leaving about 30,000 men behind to cover Washington, and having assembled about 80,000 men, well equipped, and with a formidable battering-train, between the York River and James River, under the protection of the guns of Fort Monroe, he himself, with about 30,000 more, proceeded to join them. His intention was to advance gradually towards Richmond; and, when sufficiently near, a number of gun-boats were to force their way up the James River, and co-operate with the army in assaulting the city.

Already one of the most novel events of the war had occurred. In March, the *Merrimac*, one of the ships which had been sunk in Norfolk harbour, but which had been raised, repaired, plated with iron, and fitted with two iron beaks at the stern, attacked the Federal ships in Hampden Roads, at the mouth of the James River. She was mounted with ten large guns; and, after firing two, ran into the

*Cumberland* sloop of war, striking her with the sharp bows, and making a large hole at the water-mark. The *Cumberland* immediately began to sink, when the *Merrimac* backed a little, and ran into her a second time, making another large hole: the *Cumberland* then heeled over, and finally sank, with about 130 men. The *Merrimac* next attacked the *Congress*, a 50-gun frigate, which, in less than an hour, hoisted the white flag. In the evening, the *Monitor* fortunately arrived from New York. This vessel was the first specimen of those iron-clad floating batteries, of which several others have been since constructed. It had a turret, which was, in fact, a revolving bomb-proof fort, carrying two 11-inch guns. On the morning of the 9th, the *Merrimac* again came out, and attacked the *Minnesota*, a Federal steamer carrying forty guns, which would probably have been destroyed had not the *Monitor* appeared on the scene. The action between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* lasted a considerable time; and the result was, that the former, considerably injured, was compelled to retreat into Norfolk harbour. The Federal successes by sea were greater than by land. On April 10th, island No. 10 and New Orleans were captured. In May the navy yard in Norfolk was won, and the formidable *Merrimac* was blown up.

The disasters on the Mississippi frontier constrained the South to adopt the policy of concentrating its forces in the interior of Virginia, under the deservedly popular General Lee. Here battle after battle was fought. On June 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, and July 1st, the battles of the Chickahominy occurred. The two most famous battles of the series were fought on the 27th and 30th. The loss of the Federals was estimated at 20,000 killed and wounded; that of the Confederates also must have been very large, as the Federals had the superiority in artillery. In August the second battle of Manassas was fought. Soon after, a portion of General Lee's army crossed the Potomac, into Maryland and Pennsylvania. General Jackson, having invested Harper's Ferry, paroled more than 8,000 prisoners, and obtained 10,000 small-arms, forty cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores. He then joined General Lee, and the battle of Antietam was fought, with indecisive results, yet with a total loss to the Federals of 14,700 men.

On the 22nd of September, President Lincoln issued his celebrated emancipation proclamation, to the effect that, on and after the 1st of January, 1863, all slaves, within any state or part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the Federal government, shall henceforth be for ever free.

On the 7th of November, General McClellan was relieved from the command of the army of the Potomac; and General Burnside was appointed his successor. General McClellan was much blamed for not having pursued the Confederates into Virginia after the battle of Antietam. The battle of Fredericksburg was won by General Lee, with a loss of 1,800 killed and wounded; while that of the Federals was estimated at 14,000.

In 1863, the fighting was fiercer than ever. At the battle of Chancellorsville, fought on May 2nd, the Confederates lost their greatest hero, General Stonewall Jackson.

General Jackson, at the siege of Vera Cruz, commanded a battery, and attracted attention by the coolness and judgment with which he worked his guns. For his conduct at Cerro Gordo he was made a captain. He was in all Scott's battles *en route* for the city of Mexico; and he behaved so well, that he was brevetted major for his services. To his merits as a commander, he added the virtues of an active, humble, consistent Christian. He was vulgarly sneered at as a fatalist; his habits of soliloquy were derided as superstitious conversations with a familiar spirit; but the confidence he had in his destiny was regarded by his admirers as a mark of genius. The following description of him is given by one who knew him:—"He is as calm in the midst of a hurricane of bullets, as he was in the pew of his church at Lexington, where he was professor of the Institute. He appears to be a man of almost superhuman endurance. Neither heat nor cold



make the slightest impression on him. He cares nothing for good quarters and dainty fare. Wrapped in his blanket, he throws himself down on the ground, anywhere, and sleeps as soundly as though he were in a palace. He lives as the soldiers live, and bears all the fatigues and all the suffering they do. He never seems to sleep, and lets nothing pass without his personal scrutiny. He can neither be caught napping, nor whipped when he is wide awake. The rapidity of his marches is something portentous. He is heard of by the enemy at one point; and before they can make up their minds to follow him he is off to another. His men have little baggage, and he moves nearly as he can without encumbrance. He keeps so constantly in motion, that he never has a sick list, and no need of hospitals." His biographer, Professor Dabney, gives anecdotes illustrating Jackson's nobleness of character, efficiency as a general, and unflinching determination to do his duty. Jackson had studied, practically and theoretically, the art of war. He was no carpet knight, but a real soldier; no brawling politician of the tavern or the market-place, but a real patriot. He was of the South, and he cast in his lot with the South; and was a leader of whom any cause might have been proud. His knowledge of strategy was great; and he had the rare knack of securing the confidence of his men, who, under his leadership, were ready to go anywhere. He was as tender of them as if they were his children. On one occasion, after he had been in an action, he would not leave till the last of the wounded had been removed; and it was not till the last picket was posted, that the general sought a few hours' repose. When his faithful servant, knowing that he had eaten nothing since the morning, came with food, he said—"I want none; nothing but sleep;" and, in a few minutes, was slumbering like an infant. Yet this tender man was stern, as a soldier should be. A part of the men of the 27th regiment, in the Stonewall Brigade, who had volunteered for twelve months, found their year had expired, and, laying down their arms, refused to serve another day. Their colonel referred to Jackson for instructions. His reply was—"What is this but mutiny? Why does Colonel Grigsby refer to me to know what to do with a mutiny? He should shoot them where they stand;" and Jackson gave orders accordingly: hearing which, the insubordinate companies very wisely returned to duty. In the same firm spirit he ordered the officers under him. Riding up to a colonel on one occasion, previous to an engagement, he said—"I expect the enemy to bring artillery to this hill, and they must not do it. Do you understand me, sir? *They must not do it.* Keep a good look-out, and your men well in hand; and, if they attempt to come, charge them with the bayonet, and seize their guns. *Clamp them, sir, on the spot:*" and, as he gave the order with clenched fist and strident voice, Jackson made men's ears tingle.

Yet, all the while, General Stonewall Jackson was ever anxious about the religious welfare of those around him. Whenever there was an opportunity, divine service was performed; and Jackson was always a worshipper. For him death had no terror. On one occasion, he said to a brother officer—"Nothing easily can mar my happiness. I know that heaven is in store for me, and I should rejoice at the prospect of going there to-morrow. Understand me, I am not sick, I am not sad: God has greatly blessed me; and I have as much to love here as any man, and life is very bright to me; but still I am ready to leave it any day without trepidation or regret, for that heaven which I know awaits me, through the mercy of my heavenly father. And I would not agree to the slightest diminution of one shade of my glory there, for—(here he paused, as though to consider what terrestrial measure he might best select to express the largeness of his joys)—No! not all the fame which I have acquired, or shall ever win in this world." Such was the man who illustrated and adorned the cause of the South. He never had a day's holiday. No wonder that he prayed daily, and earnestly, for peace, blessed peace: and his prayer was answered; but it was the peace not of this world, but of a better world than ours, that he found, as, shattered and weak with loss of blood, he breathed his last just as victory had again crowned

his efforts with success. A peculiarly melancholy feature in the case was, that he was shot by the deadly fire of his own troops, who mistook him and his friends for the Federals. His right hand was penetrated by a ball; his left fore-arm lacerated by another; and the same limb broken a little below the shoulder by a third, which not only crushed the bone, but severed the main artery. His horse also dashed, panic-struck, beneath the boughs of a tree, which inflicted severe blows, lacerated his face, and almost dragged him from his saddle. The general was taken to the rear; amputation was immediately resorted to, and, for a little while, it seemed as if the life, of such value to the Confederacy, would be saved. It was, however, otherwise decreed; and he died, and was buried, amidst a nation's tears. The poet tells us—

“How sleep the brave, who sink to rest  
By all their country's wishes blest!”

And thus died Stonewall Jackson.

We have not yet told how Jackson acquired his *sobriquet*. At the battle of Bull Run, as the fragments of the Confederates left, and fell back before the Federals, the reserve, under General Jackson, was ordered to advance. At right angles to the stream there ran an elevated ridge, the Confederate side of which was covered with a thicket of pines, affording admirable shelter for sharpshooters. Here Jackson took his stand, and for four hours resisted the most determined efforts of his foe. Unable, by the most desperate efforts, to drive him before them, the Federals assailed the division on his right, and gradually drove the Confederates away. In this critical position, a commanding officer galloped up to Jackson. “General, they are beating us back.” “Then,” he replied adroitly, “we will give them the bayonet.” Reinspired by the hero's firmness, the officer rode back to his half-beaten soldiers, and exclaimed—“There is Jackson! standing like a stone wall!—rally behind the Virginians.” From that hour, which turned the tide of victory against the North, Stonewall Jackson became a household word through the South. His way of fighting was the theme of eulogies in the pulpit and the press.

“We see him now—the old slouched hat  
Cocked o'er his eye askew;  
The shrewd dry smile; the speech so pat,  
So calm, so blunt, so true.  
The ‘Blue-Light Elder’ knows us well.  
Says he, ‘That's Banks—he's fond of shell:  
Lord, save his soul! We'll give him’—well,  
That's ‘Stonewall Jackson's way.’

“Silence! ground arms! kneel all! caps off!  
Old Blue Light's going to pray;  
Strangle the fool that dares to scoff.  
Attention! Its his way.  
Appealing from his native sod,  
In *forma pauperis*, to God—  
‘Lay bare Thine arm; stretch forth Thy rod.  
Amen.’ That's ‘Stonewall's way.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“Ah! maiden, wait, and watch, and yearn  
For news of Stonewall's band;  
Ah! widow, read with eyes that burn  
That ring upon thy hand.  
Ah! wife, pray on, sew on, hope on,  
Thy life shall not be all forlorn.  
The foe had better ne'er been born  
That gets in ‘Stonewall's way.’”

General Robert Jefferson Jackson (commonly called Stonewall Jackson) died in hospital, a few miles south of Fredericksburg, on the 9th of May.



General Hooker dashed on, as he fondly dreamed, to Richmond; but he fared no better than others. He was driven back by General Lee; but, soon after, the Confederates lost the powerful fortress of Vicksburg. By water the Federals had a great advantage. The naval squadron of the Mississippi was under the command of Admiral Porter, who had at his disposal more than one hundred armed vessels, including iron-clads. Admiral Farragut having ran past the batteries of Port Hudson with part of his Gulf squadron, co-operated with Admiral Porter; and General Grant attacked Vicksburg by land. The fortress, with its garrison, surrendered, unconditionally, on the 4th of July. The prisoners paroled were more than 30,000; the artillery about 200 pieces; the small-arms about 70,000; together with a large quantity of ammunition.

The battle of Gettysburg must also be noticed. On the morning of the 1st of July, the hostile armies came into collision four miles west from Gettysburg. After a struggle of some hours the Federal troops were driven back through the town, with heavy loss of men, and several pieces of artillery. They retired to a range of hills. The attack was not pressed in the afternoon, and the preparations for another attack were not completed till the afternoon of the 2nd of July. The Federals held a high and commanding ridge, along which they had massed a large number of guns. General Ewell occupied the left of the Confederate line, General Hill the centre, and General Longstreet the right. Advantageous positions were captured on the right and left, and the contest ceased when it became dark. On the 3rd, dispositions were made for the attempt to drive the Federals from the heights, which they had strengthened by earthworks. The battle recommenced on the afternoon of the 3rd, and raged with great violence till sunset. The Confederates failed in their attempts, and were obliged to fall back on their original positions, with severe loss. The strength of the position held by the Federals, deficiency of ammunition for the artillery, and other considerations, determined the Confederates not to hazard another attack. They remained at Gettysburg during the 4th, and, at night, began to retire. The weather was very wet and stormy during the retreat, and the river had risen above its usual height. By the 13th, however, the waters had fallen a little, and were found to be fordable, though still deep; the pontoon bridge, which had been partly broken, was repaired; and, by one o'clock in the afternoon of the 14th, the whole of the Confederate army, with all its trains of stores and batteries, had recrossed the Potomac. No serious interruption had been made by the Federals. Their loss was supposed to have been about 15,000; and that of the Confederates was, perhaps, not much less.

In New York city, where the rowdy element is strong, and where the friends of the South were numerous, the commencement of the conscription produced a series of riots, which continued from the 13th of July till the 16th, and were not entirely suppressed till the 17th, when more than 30,000 soldiers of the regular army, besides militia, had been assembled in and around the city. The destruction of property, caused by incendiary fires, was valued at more than £80,000. The number of persons killed was about seventy-six, inclusive of some twenty negroes, murdered by the mob. About 600 persons were wounded, or otherwise injured. On both sides Herculean efforts were made. In accordance with the acts passed by the Confederate Congress, in April and September, 1862, President Davis, on the 21st of July, issued a proclamation, calling out for military service for three years, if the war should continue so long, the whole of the able-bodied population of the Confederate states, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

Charleston was besieged, on a gigantic scale, by the Federals. All July and August they were hard at work. In Tennessee the Confederates gained a victory by the defeat of General Rosencrans. General Bragg, having been reinforced with two divisions of Longstreet's corps, from the army of General Lee, on the 19th of September, at ten o'clock in the morning, attacked the army of General Rosencrans. Falling, at first, upon the left wing, under General Thomas, the

Confederates caused the reserves of the centre and right to be sent to his support. They then suddenly attacked the centre, drove it back, and separated the two wings. There was much confusion and rout, and the Confederates captured many guns; but the Federals were partly rallied, and held their ground. On the 20th, the attack was renewed, and the centre and right were defeated, and compelled to retreat. The left wing, under General Thomas, having secured a strong position, resisted, with resolute bravery, till dusk, when it fell back, and, during the night, joined the rest of the defeated army at Chattanooga. General Bragg reported that he had captured 7,000 prisoners, thirty-six pieces of artillery, and 15,000 small-arms. The Federal loss, in killed and wounded, must have been very large. This was the battle of Chicamauga, so called from the name of a stream near which it was fought. For nearly three months after, by none of the armies in the field was anything of importance achieved. In the north, however, for the cause of free government, better times were drawing nigh.

Up to this time the North had laboured under a serious disadvantage. It had no general equal to the work required of him. In the person of Ulysses Grant, he at length appeared upon the scene.

Sprung from a family of Scotch extraction, Ulysses Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Clermont County, Ohio, on the 29th of April, 1829. He was trained at the military academy, West Point, and took an active part in the Mexican war. At its termination he married, and helped in his father's business, a leather and saddlery store, in St. Louis. In October he was appointed commander of all the Federal armies in the south-west. The Federals, defeated and demoralised, cowered in Chattanooga; while their victorious enemies, intrenched on the mountain ranges that dominate the town, held them in a state of siege. Joined by Sherman, after a tedious and difficult march, he inflicted a heavy blow on the Confederates on the 25th of November. Jefferson Davis had visited Bragg's lines, and pronounced them impregnable. Grant knew better. With an army of 85,000 strong, he led an attack, which the Confederates at first thought was nothing but a review, so safe did they deem their position. For a time the battle was doubtful, till Hooker's advance becomes a glorious success. The Confederates stoutly withstand; but the fear of being cut off and captured, ultimately compels them to fall back. As a result of this victory, Grant captured 6,000 prisoners, forty pieces of artillery, and 7,000 small-arms; besides killing or wounding 5,000 of the enemy's forces. "After a long and severe battle," wrote Jefferson Davis, "in which great carnage was inflicted on the enemy, some of our troops inexplicably abandoned positions of great strength; and, by a disorderly retreat, compelled the commander to withdraw his whole army to a position some twenty or thirty miles in the rear." This was the thin edge of the wedge. Sherman then went in pursuit of Longstreet, in Eastern Tennessee, when the latter retreated.

The critical year (1863) of the war ended better for the Federals than it commenced. During the first six months the Confederates were everywhere successful. At the close of the year, the whole aspect of affairs was changed. During its last six months, the Northerners had won two great battles—Gettysburg and Look-out Mountain. They had captured six important towns: Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the greatest Confederate strongholds in the south-west; Chattanooga, the base of Federal operations against Georgia; Knoxville, the capital of Eastern Tennessee; Little Rock, the chief town of Arkansas; and Jackson, the state capital of Mississippi. They had pushed back the Southern forces, excepting Lee's army, into the Gulf states, and established themselves firmly in Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Tennessee; and, as a consequence, had opened up the three great rivers that have given their names to the three last states. Of prisoners taken during the war, the Confederates could only number 15,000, to 40,000 captured by their foes. The value of vessels (1,000 in all) seized up to January 1st, 1864, while attempting to run the blockade, was nearly three millions; and, to crown all, their greatest hero was dead. In the beginning of the year, affairs at first were



unfavourable to the North: at the same time, all was gaiety and amusement in New York; whilst misery and depression prevailed in the South. While gold was 160 in New York, it was at a 1,000 premium in Richmond. The North throve with the war, and was in no hurry to have it brought to a close. "Wages," says Mr. Stacke, "had risen in an extraordinary manner; and every one seemed to be doing a roaring trade. Railways, mines, and companies of every description, that languished before secession, seemed to spring into new life and prosperity, owing to the influence on speculation exercised by the war. Whole cities were embellished; and one (Chicago) actually raised some feet by the wealth amassed during the war. Never was there such gaiety in New York: never had there been so many places of amusement opened: never had the theatres been so well attended, nor luxury and wealth so generally displayed. Notwithstanding the enormous customs' duties, the most expensive articles of European manufacture were in large demand." The shoddy class was the name given for the new men, who, enriched by a lavish government expenditure, sought to astonish the vulgar by their ostentatious display of wealth.

On the 12th of March, Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. At this time the North reposed unbounded confidence in the "Western Tanner," as he was called. His many victories were the warrant of their faith. Equal confidence, on the Confederate side, was reposed in Lee. He had never been defeated on Virginian soil; and, even in his invasions of the North, had always retired after inflicting more damage on the enemy than he had received himself. Since he had taken command of the army of Virginia, in 1862, he had beaten, in succession, McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker; and had brought Meade to a full stop at Mine Run, where, at the end of 1863, the latter attempted to make his way to Richmond. Disaster after disaster had come upon the South; but Lee still defied the whole power of the North to pass over the sixty miles that intervened between Richmond and the Rappahannock. With his inferior number he had almost always beaten the Unionists. In the course of a year and a-half, he had crushed five Federal advances on Richmond, which had cost the Federals 30,000 dead, and nearly 200,000 wounded. And now the great general of the North was pitted against the general of the South. Grant's designs were not confined to one army. He determined to prevent the concentration of the Confederates by a simultaneous advance east and west. The point to be attacked in the eastern campaign was Richmond; of the western, Georgia. As regards the management of the campaign in Georgia, he left that wholly to William Tecumseh Sherman, the greatest military strategist since the death of Napoleon the Great. Grant, in person, directed the Virginian campaign. Meade's army was to out-manceuvre Lee, and, if possible, cut him off from his supplies. A force, under Sigel, was to pass down the Shenandoah, and break the line that runs from Richmond to the west; and an expedition, under Butler and Gilmore, was to sail up the James River, and attack the doomed city from the south. The Federals had 150,000; their enemies, including the garrison of Richmond, had 100,000. The latter had no chance against the former. In the first week in May the battle began. After a week's hard fighting, in which the loss of life had been great, and the success of the Federals small, Grant telegraphed to Washington—"I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all the summer." Grant changed his plan of attack; but fortune was equally hard to find. For every mile the Federals had moved, they had lost 1,000 men, and yet appeared no nearer success. The confidence felt in the North began to abate. Still Grant held on his way, and, in time, he succeeded. The battle of the Five Forks, in March, 1865, was the last effort of the Confederates. Lee now saw, that to retire on Richmond would allow Sheridan to cut off his line of retreat; and, consequently, ordered the evacuation of Richmond and Petersburg on the following day. It was Sunday, and Jefferson Davis was at church, when the word came that Richmond was to be abandoned. It was a sad hour for him, and for all, when it was felt that the city,

which had, for forty-five months, defied the efforts of a most powerful army and people, was to be abandoned—a city for which such tens of thousands had perished on the battle-field. It was hard to leave such a city to its fate; but there was no alternative. The fate of Lee's army is soon told. On its way westward it was surrounded; and, on the 9th of April, after some letters had passed between Grant and Lee, the latter surrendered at Appomatox Court-house, the arms being taken, and parole exacted. The Confederates, to the number of 26,000, were allowed to return home. Before they dispersed, Grant, on Lee's suggestion, supplied them all with rations. Poor fellows! they had little to boast of in that way.

When the news of the fate of Richmond reached the North, great was the joy. The streets of the town re-echoed with peals of applause—women cheering and waving handkerchiefs from the windows to the exulting crowds below. A week after came the intelligence of the entire surrender of Lee's army. If possible, the excitement became greater; all was joy. Victory had at length declared itself for the North—for the cause of freedom and humanity. The great republic was saved; the Union was preserved. In days of darkness, when disaster after disaster came down upon the North, there were found those who took their stand upon principle; who believed they were fighting for great ends: and now they were justified; and for once, in this world of ours, right had become might. The friends of the slave, who, at one time, were hunted from the cities of the Union—who were never safe from attack—who lived in danger of their lives—had seen the slave-power crushed, and their beloved country's reproach wiped away.

In the midst of this universal rejoicing, all the world was astonished and saddened by learning that, on the 14th of April, Abraham Lincoln, who had been a second time re-elected president of the republic, had been suddenly and foully assassinated. The president was, at the time, in a private box at Ford's Theatre, Washington. In the letter which conveyed to Mr. Adams the mournful intelligence, it was stated that—

“The president, about eight o'clock, accompanied Mrs. Lincoln to the theatre. Another lady and gentleman were with them in the box. About half-past ten, during a pause in the performance, the assassin entered the box, the door of which was unguarded; hastily approached the president from behind, and discharged a pistol at his head. The bullet entered the back of the head, and penetrated nearly through. The assassin then leaped from his box upon the stage, brandishing a large knife, or dagger, and exclaiming “*Sic semper tyrannis*,” escaped in the rear of the theatre. Immediately upon the discharge the president fell to the door insensible, and continued in that state until twenty minutes past seven, when he breathed his last!”

When the news of this melancholy event reached Europe, it created widespread indignation and deep regret. The intelligence was received in London on a Wednesday, when there was only a day sitting of parliament, and but sixty members present. They all signed the following address, which was presented the same evening to Mr. Adams:—“We, the undersigned members of the British House of Commons, have learned with the deepest horror and regret that the president of the United States has been deprived of life by an act of violence; and we desire to express our sympathy in this sad event with the American minister now in London, as well as to declare our hope and confidence in the future of that great country, which, we trust, will continue to be associated with enlightened freedom and peaceful relations with this and every other country.”

Subsequently the leaders of the great parties in the House expressed their horror of the crime which had been committed. The scene on 'Change at Liverpool will not soon be forgotten. The excitement has rarely, if ever, been exceeded. Late in the day, a requisition to the mayor was drawn up, requesting him to call a public meeting to express the sorrow and indignation of the people. Hundreds signed with avidity, and the mayor issued a proclamation for a meeting at



St. George's Hall, on the afternoon of the 27th, to be adjourned to the evening of the same day, so that the working classes might also have an opportunity of attending. Flags on the Town Hall and other buildings, and on the shipping at Liverpool, were displayed at half-mast. Meetings of the Americans resident in London, also the Union and Emancipation Society, and public gatherings at Manchester, Birmingham, &c., were likewise held to express their sentiments. The *Liverpool Post* of the 27th was printed with mourning columns. The *Times* said—"Nothing in political history can be remembered that has ever drawn forth a more unanimous feeling than this news. Personally President Lincoln enjoyed the kind regards of every one in England. The extent to which his influence was estimated in upholding amicable relations between England and the United States, has been shown by the fall, of unusual severity, in all classes of securities." It further remarked—"The news will be received throughout Europe with sorrow as sincere and profound as it awoke even in the United States themselves. Lincoln's perfect honesty speedily became apparent, and Englishmen learned to respect him." It also said—"Unjust as we believe it to be, the Confederate cause will not escape the dishonour cast upon it by these wanton murders." The *Daily News* said—"Lincoln has not fallen in the flush of triumph, for no thought of triumph was in that honest and humble heart; but his task was accomplished, and the battle of his life was won; and, in all time to come, among those who think manhood is more than rank, Abraham Lincoln will be held in reverence." The article further says—"We will not, without overwhelming proof, let the horrible conspiracy, or the phrases of its actors, lead us to lay it to the charge of abettors in the South." The *Star* paid a warm tribute to Lincoln, and eulogised his steadfast policy of peace, in spite of all provocation, towards England. It also expressed confidence that the North, even in its hour of just indignation, would still bear itself with that magnanimous clemency which thus far had illumined its triumph. The *Daily Telegraph* said—"From vulgar corruption, from factious hatred, from meanness, jealousy, and uncharitableness, this ruler was nobly free. At last came what seemed to be the fruition of his labours—the reward of his patience and courage. He entered Richmond as a conqueror, but he launched no decree of proscription, for the fight appeared to be over; and it was not in the man's large heart to bear malice towards a beaten foe. He spoke very kindly of Lee (says Stanton); and, on the same night that he pleaded for peace and for mercy, a villain killed him. Not for Lincoln himself can the end be considered unhappy." Much uneasiness was evinced in regard to the assumption of the presidency by Johnson, on account of the unavoidable deductions drawn from his conduct at the inauguration, and the tenor of his speeches.

In the House of Lords, May 1st, Earl Russell moved an address to the queen, expressive of the sorrow and indignation with which their lordships had heard of the assassination of President Lincoln; and he informed the House that the queen had written a letter to Mrs. Lincoln, "from a widow to a widow," offering her condolence. The motion was seconded by the Earl of Derby, and agreed to unanimously. In the Commons, a similar address was moved by Sir George Grey, and seconded by Mr. Disraeli.

*Punch* altered his tone, and joined in the general tribute of regret and admiration. In his cartoon on the subject was the representation of a funeral bier. At the head of it Columbia sits weeping; and, at the foot, a slave, with his manacles stricken off, is buried in grief. Britannia stands in the centre, and offers a funeral wreath, to be deposited by the side of one laid on the bier by Columbia. The whole picture is touching and suggestive. It is accompanied by the following graceful lines:—

"You lay a wreath on murdered Lincoln's bier,  
You, who with mocking pencil went to trace,  
Broad for the self-complacent British sneer,  
His length of shambling limb, his furrowed face.



- " His gnarled hands, his unkempt, bristling hair,  
His garb uncouth, his bearing ill at ease,  
His lack of all we prize as *débonnaire*,  
Of power or will to shine, of art to please.
- " You, whose smart pen backed up the pencil's laugh,  
Judging each step, as though the way were plain,—  
Reckless, so it could point its paragraph,  
Of chief's perplexity, or people's pain.
- " Beside this corpse, that bears for winding sheet  
The Stars and Stripes he lived to rear anew,  
Between the mourners at his head and feet,  
Say, scurril jester, is there room for you?
- " Yes, he had lived to shame me from my sneer,  
To lame my pencil and confute my pen—  
To make me own this hind of princes peer,  
This rail-splitter a true-born king of men.
- " My shallow judgment I had learnt to rue,  
Noting how to occasion's height he rose,  
How his quaint wit made home-truth seem more true,  
How, iron-like, his temper grew by blows.
- " How humble and yet hopeful he could be!  
How in good fortune and in ill the same!  
Nor bitter in success, nor boastful he,  
Thirsty for gold, nor feverish for fame.
- " He went about his work—such work as few  
Ever had laid on head, and heart, and hand—  
As one who knows, where there's a task to do,  
Man's honest will must Heaven's good grace command.
- " Who trusts the strength will with the burden grow,  
That God makes instruments to work His will,  
If but that will we can arrive to know,  
Nor tamper with the weights of good and ill.
- " So he went forth to battle on the side  
That he felt clear was Liberty's and Right's,  
As in his peasant boyhood he had plied  
His warfare with rude Nature's thwarting mights—
- " The uncleared forest, the unbroken soil,  
The iron-bark, that turns the lumberer's axe,  
The rapid, that o'erbears the boatman's toil,  
The prairie, hiding the mazed wanderer's tracks,
- " The ambushed Indian, and the prowling bear—  
Such were the needs that helped his youth to train:  
Rough culture—but such trees large fruit may bear,  
If but their stock be of right girth and grain.
- " So he grew up, a destined work to do,  
And lived to do it: four long-suffering years  
Ill-fate, ill-feeling, ill-report, lived through,  
And then he heard the hisses changed to cheers,
- " The taunts to tribute, the abuse to praise,  
And took both with the same unwavering mood;  
Till, as he came on light, from darkling days,  
And seemed to touch the goal from where he stood,
- " A felon hand, between the goal and him,  
Reached from behind his back, a trigger prest—  
And those perplexed and patient eyes were dim,  
Those gaunt, long-labouring limbs were laid to rest.



“The words of mercy were upon his lips,  
 Forgiveness in his heart and on his pen,  
 When this vile murderer brought swift eclipse  
 To thoughts of peace on earth, good-will to men.

“The Old World and the New, from sea to sea,  
 Utter one voice of sympathy and shame !  
 Sore heart, so stopped when it at last beat high,  
 Sad life, cut short just as its triumph came.

“And deed accurst ! Strokes have been struck before  
 By the assassin's hand, whereof men doubt  
 If more of horror or disgrace they bore ;  
 But thy foul crime, like Cain's, stands darkly out,

“Vile hand, that brandest murder on a strife,  
 Whate'er its grounds, stoutly and nobly striven ;  
 And with the martyr's crown crownest a life  
 With much to praise, little to be forgiven !”

On the same day that John Wilkes Booth shot President Lincoln, a savage attempt was made to assassinate Secretary Seward, the most acute diplomatist and experienced statesman of the North. Mr. Seward was lying ill in his bedroom, suffering from the effects of a serious accident, when a tall, powerful man, named Payne, applied at the house for admission, saying he had come with a prescription from the doctor. Being stopped by the secretary's son, Mr. Frederick Seward, on the stairs, he snapped a pistol at the young man's head, which, fortunately, did not go off. Quickly the ruffian struck his opponent to the ground with the end of the pistol, and burst into the secretary's chamber, where Miss Seward was in attendance on her father. Reckless of witnesses, the man rushed to the bed, and, with a knife, slashed at the face of Mr. Seward, who, fortunately, had strength enough to fling himself out of the bed, on the far side, before a mortal wound had been inflicted. The would-be assassin then turned away, and quickly escaped. There is reason to believe that a few desperate men, of whom Booth and Payne were the chief, had resolved to murder most of the eminent Federals, commencing with the president. It is certain that General Grant, who was expected to have been at the theatre, but who had gone to Washington on private business, had a very narrow escape.

Immediately after the death of Lincoln, the vice-president, Andrew Johnson (in accordance with the regulations of the constitution), assumed the dignity of chief magistrate. The English papers, on his accession, vilified him in the most extraordinary and uncalled-for manner. His task was one from which the boldest might have shrunk. Called from the lowest strata of society, Andrew Johnson has to solve the question as to the reconstruction of the Union, and the emancipation of the slave. At present he seems to act as if he thought more of the whites than the negroes of the South. He objects to extend the franchise to the latter : the abolitionists, on the other hand, assert that the object of the war is lost if perfect equality be not established. According to them, the blacks, who have fought for the Union, deserve a vote as much as the whites who fought against it. They argue, that if the negroes be not admitted to vote, there is danger of the Southern representatives working to bring about a repudiation of the national debt ; and that if Congress does not take steps now to secure the negroes the rights and privileges of free men, legislation on this matter will be impossible when the South has got a powerful voice in the councils of the nation.

Such is a brief outline of the American war, in which Lord Palmerston managed to maintain a neutrality, acceptable, apparently, neither to Earl Russell, Mr. Gladstone, or the aristocracy in general. The upper classes in this country, and the *Times*, had an undeniable leaning to the South. The Confederates were gentlemen ; the best blood of England ran in their veins : the men of the North were a mean

Yankee lot, sympathy with whom was out of the question. Such was the general feeling in "good society." There were many who knew better, but they were poor men; the industrious classes had little or no political power. "Recognise the South," was the cry more than once raised in the British parliament. It was understood that the French emperor was quite ready to join us in such recognition. Happily, the ministry, of which Lord Palmerston was the head, were preserved from such an act of folly.

Yet, more than once we nearly came into collision with the Federal power. There was the affair of the *Trent*—we have already referred to that. Then there was the case of the *Alabama*, which sailed away from Liverpool under false pretences; and without even going into a Confederate port, claimed to be a Confederate man-of-war, and, in that capacity, did immense damage to the mercantile shipping of the North. At Terceira, to which she sailed, she took on board provisions and arms from English vessels; and Captain Semmes, late of the Confederate cruiser *Sumter*, assumed the command. At length, in June, 1864, he steamed into the harbour of Cherbourg, outside which the Federal frigate, the *Kearsarge*, shortly afterwards appeared. There he challenged its commander, Captain Winslow, to fight a duel. The challenge was accepted; and the *Alabama*, on the 19th of June, steamed out of the harbour; Captain Semmes having wisely left all valuables behind, and, like a good Catholic, heard mass. The two ships began manœuvring to bring their guns to bear upon each other most effectively; and the firing soon became very rapid. The *Alabama* strove to approach her antagonist, probably with a view to boarding; but the *Kearsarge* preferred a judicious distance, and delivered her shots with a precision that soon began to tell on her adversary's sides. Before an hour had passed, the *Alabama's* boilers were pierced, and her rudder carried off. Owing to the skilful arrangement of chain-cables covering the sides of the *Kearsarge*, the *Alabama's* shots produced but little effect. It was clear it was all up with the *Alabama*, which, however, continued firing till she sank. Captain Semmes jumped into the sea, was picked up by an English yacht, and landed in England. During his career, he had captured and burned nearly 100 vessels of the American merchant service; and his defeat caused intense rejoicings in the North. Unfortunately, the evil done by the *Alabama* has survived her destruction. America claims compensation from us for the mischief done by the *Alabama*. No decision, however, has been come to. Earl Russell refused to submit the case to arbitration. Yet, apparently, such was the fairest course. If England is to blame, by all means let her pay.

Let us pause in our chronicle, to do justice to the brave soldiers of a defeated cause. In so far as the Southern Confederacy realised the right of a people to choose their own form of government, their cause was one which all could sympathise with; but then our sympathies were forbidden, as it was clear to all—as, indeed, it was officially declared—that slavery was the corner-stone of the new republic: still we must admire the courage and dash of the soldiers of the South. It was a splendid army, that of Virginia; and even the victors cannot refuse it its meed of praise. It will be long before the memory of its heroism and valour passes away. Ofttimes there is a glory for the vanquished, as lasting and as genuine as that which attends the conqueror's steps. A German officer, Herr Von Boreke, has helped us to realise this in the most vivid manner. In his *Memoirs of the Confederate War for Independence*, justice is claimed for, and done to, the soldiers with whom he cast in his lot. In his lively columns we get a glimpse of the true state of affairs in Dixie Land, as it was termed in the familiar phraseology of the time. Herr Von Boreke is a giant, with physical strength in proportion to his size, rejoicing in the possession of a Damascus blade almost as wonderful as King Arthur's "brand Excalibur," whose appearance makes the enemy to flee, and whose daring horsemanship always rescues him when danger is near. The hardships of a soldier's life affect him not. Clothed in rags, deprived



of sleep, condemned to short commons, stretched on the bare earth beneath an inclement sky, his bosom burns with martial fire. His chief, the dashing cavalry officer, General Stuart, seems to have been cast in a similar mould. He describes the general as "a stoutly built man, rather above the middle height, of a most frank and winning expression—the lower part of his face covered with a thick brown beard, which flowed over his breast." His dark eye was quick and piercing; his whole body seemed instinct with vitality. He was "the model of a dashing cavalry leader." Our author's comrades were gallant and joyous Virginians, "whose easy and graceful seat betrayed the constant habit of horseback exercise; and they were mounted mostly on blooded animals, some of which the most ambitious guardsman, or the most particular swell in London, would have been glad to show off in Hyde Park." Nor is the camp life he describes an uninviting one. It has its pleasures as well as its hardships, its joys as well as its sorrows. To the living, there was the flush of victory; to the dying, the solace of having fallen in their country's cause. "Tell my friends," said a lad, whose life-blood was ebbing fast away on the field of battle—"tell my friends," said he, "though the Yankees have killed me they have not conquered me." And then, over the camp fires, what genial stories were told, what jolly songs sung. In all the fun the general was the first to lead the way. Nor did the brave forget the fair. Every now and then there was a ball, and Venus outshone Mars. More than once, balls of another description interfered with the amusements of the evening; and then the gay laughing girl, in silk and satin, was suddenly transformed into the nurse, till she fainted away in the midst of the agony which, lovingly, she had sought to ease. Such is a soldier's life; such are the lights and shades of his career.

Herr Von Borcke joined the Confederates in the spring of 1862, and was first under fire at the battle of Seven Pines, where he had the opportunity of closely observing General Longstreet—"a stout man, of middle height, and most agreeable countenance; a long brown beard gave something leonine to his appearance; an engaging simplicity was his prevailing characteristic." After the battle, Jefferson Davis appears—"a tall, thin man, with sharply-defined features, an air of easy command, and frank, unaffected, gentlemanlike manners." More than one characteristic glimpse is given of Stonewall Jackson. Our author is sent to him for orders. In answer to the question, "Where shall I find General Jackson?" his commander replied, "Where the fight is hottest." On another occasion, in the midst of a fearful cannonade, with shells bursting all round him, he discovers the general sitting comfortably on a caisson, quietly writing his despatches. To our author's expostulations he replies—"My dear major, I am very much obliged to you for the orders you have given. Hill will take care of the enemy in our rear. I know what they are; there cannot be more than two brigades of them; and as for my position here, I believe we have been together in hotter places before." The great hero then calmly resumed his writing, cannon-shot ploughing up the ground all round him, and covering his MS. with dust. On another occasion the major slept in the general's tent. "Wearied out by the exertion of the previous day, I was still deeply wrapt in slumber, when I felt the pressure of a light touch on my shoulder, and a mild voice said to me, 'Major, it is time to rise and start.' Before I was yet fully awake, my caller placed a basin of water and a towel on a camp stool near my head, and continued—"Now, major, wash quickly; a cup of coffee is waiting for you; your horse is saddled, and you must be off at once." To my utter surprise I discovered that my attentive servitor was the great Stonewall himself." Major Borcke staid with the Confederates till 1864. He had helped to drive back McClellan, Burnside, and Hooker; and had received a wound, which at first was considered mortal. With his health impaired, it was thought he could serve the cause by a voyage to England. Accordingly he ran the blockade, arriving in England, after a circuitous route by the West India Islands, in the month of February, 1865. "There," he writes,

"I was saved the grief of being an eye-witness of the rapid collapse of the Confederacy, and the downfall of a just and noble cause."

But the American war touched us in another and a still more vital part. England's mission, in modern times, was thought to be, to make calico for all the world; and all our cotton chiefly came from America. The South said, "Cotton is king. England cannot do without cotton; and she must interfere in our behalf." Never did a people act more grandly than the cotton-spinners of Lancashire. Let the war last, they said, so that the cause of freedom win. Not a voice came from the starving operatives of the north on behalf of the Confederacy.

The reader's attention is invited to Lancashire in 1860. A writer in the *British Quarterly* says—"Let us visit the quays of Liverpool, the warehouses of Manchester, and the mill-rooms of the busy towns thickly studding her extensive coal-fields. In the first place, the cotton manufacture in Lancashire, and parts of Cheshire and Derbyshire, has attracted around it a population of some 3,000,000 inhabitants. The 2,650 factories which are found in this region, employ 440,000 of this multitude within their immediate precincts; and, amongst them, wages amounting to £11,500,000 a year are distributed. A power, equal to that of 300,000 horses, of which 18,500 are water-power, drives the machinery, guided and governed by quick eyes and lissom fingers. The 30,387,467 spindles, making from 4,000 to 6,000 revolutions a minute, and 350,000 power-looms, are incessantly at work full time, to produce totals, in yarn and cloth, that mark 1860 as the *annus mirabilis* of King Cotton. These spindles are fed with 1,051,623,380 lbs. of cotton;  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of cotton wool per week for each; and the fluffy food arrives—

"From America	...	...	...	...	1,115,890,608 lbs.
" East Indies	...	...	...	...	204,141,168 "
" West Indies	...	...	...	...	1,050,784 "
" Brazils	...	...	...	...	17,286,864 "
" Other countries	...	...	...	...	52,569,328 "
Total	...	...	...	...	1,390,938,752

"The power-looms thus coming into play, produce, for the household requirements of this kingdom, 180,000,000 lbs. weight of cotton fabrics, valued at £23,000,000; and for exportation, 2,776,218,427 yards of cotton cloth, besides 197,343,655 lbs. of cotton twist and yarn, and a comparatively small quantity of hosiery, &c., valued at £1,755,163. The invested capital of £65,000,000, produces goods, this single year, which equal in value £76,012,380, or nearly £6,000,000 more than the gross revenue of the kingdom for the same period. In December Liverpool is full to repletion. The stock of raw cotton remaining over for 1861, is 250,286,605 lbs. The spindles are consuming as much as they can; and this is the surplus—that is clear enough. But how is it with the demand? Hitherto the appetite for cotton goods has been insatiable. The markets of the East have extended their great jaws, and cried for more. Grey shirtings have been active; mule-yarns and water-twists have ruled high. But already words of warning have been heard. India, it is true, has this year taken, of the entire export, one-third, valued at £17,000,000; and, behold! her warehouses are full. China is also over-fed: but an express train is stopped with difficulty; it often shoots past the intended platform. In Lancashire there is no stopping the career of this terrific prosperity: the mania for gain is upon all classes. Liverpool, anxious to distribute her bales, says, 'Go on;' and Manchester, dazzled with the wealth that flows in upon her, neglects the warning, and presses forward. For some years preceding, fabulous fortunes had been amassed in so short a time, that there was a general rush to the cotton manufacture. Cotton was everything; and every man, no matter what his business, who had realised, or could bring together a little



capital, made haste to turn it into spindles and looms. The unsightly masses of stone and brickwork, which call upon the mill-streams to reflect their ugliness, and to receive their refuse, carry, many of them, in such nicknames as Punch, Noggin, Lather-box, and Physic—playfully applied by the workpeople—the indications of their occupiers' previous calling."

Mr. Arnold says, there never was, probably, such a weight of cotton and cotton manufactures in England as at the time of the battle of Bull Run. The increasing probability of hostilities in America, had induced shippers, early in the year, to bring forward the crop of 1860 with unusual haste; and, before the end of 1861, the imports from America, for the five months of the year, amounted to 694,650,000 lbs. To this must be added the surplus raw stock of 1860, amounting to 250,286,605 lbs.; and the increased imports from India, amounting to 120,453,500 lbs. Production continued at nearly the same rate as it had done in 1860. The exports of the yarn and goods, for the first nine months of the year 1861, amounted to 537,969,000 lbs., less only by 16,250,000 lbs. than the exports for the same period of the previous year. But the total production of yarn and goods, from January to September, 1861, was 779,279,000 lbs.; of which, therefore, 241,801,000 lbs. were retained at home. The average home consumption for this period would be 135,000,000 lbs.; so that, in the first nine months of 1861, at least 100,000,000 lbs. of yarn and goods were added to the stocks remaining in the country. The weight of raw cotton, and of manufactured, at this time in the hands, or at the disposal, of the British cotton trade, cannot have fallen far short of 1,000,000,000 lbs. This was in their possession when first they welcomed a rising market. They had recklessly pushed production beyond requirement. With all the assistance of low wages, light taxation, and perfect domestic peace, manufacturers had made their spindles revolve faster, their shuttles move more quickly, than they had ever done before. They had done this in fear and trembling; they had been encouraged by the excitement which burned at the prospect of such increasing markets; they had aroused a competition, which recognised no duty paramount to that of obtaining the largest share of profits; and, at the moment in which they might have expected judgment and execution in the shape of a large depreciation of the value of their commodities—almost in the very hour when the reaction, to which they had given no heed, was upon them, the scene shifted: the war in America assumed an aspect of determined continuance; and the blockade of the Southern ports was declared effective. The price of cotton rose rapidly; and immediately profits became great.

The first signs of distress in the manufacturing districts appeared in October, when many factories began to run short time. But the American war, to which this distress was then generally referred, had as yet far less to do with it than the overstocked condition of the markets. Every one who can pretend to the slightest knowledge of the cotton trade, knows that short time must have, under any circumstances, prevailed very extensively during the winter of 1861, and the whole of 1862. Before it became evident that war would ensue in America, many of the great spokesmen of the cotton trade had predicted this necessity. Had there been no war in America, hard times must have come upon all in the winter of 1861. As it was, this event brought relief to all the holders of goods, wealth to the speculators in cotton, and a comfortless autumn, with a hopeless winter prospect, to the operatives. The manufacturers and cotton-holders began making enormous profits. In two years Mr. Arrol estimated it at £36,000,000.

"But October, 1861, brought very different prospects to the needy manufacturers, to the small shopkeepers, and to the operative classes generally. Short time means short wages, and much compulsory idleness; less food, and less pleasuring to the operative. It means, to the manufacturer without capital, a serious reduction of income, with no corresponding abatement in his expenditure on account of the fabric and machinery of his mill. It means very short profits, long credits, and, perhaps, many bad debts to the little working-class shopkeeper.

"At this time comparatively few mills had stopped altogether, but soon many would do so; and the prospects of labour in the manufacturing districts were never more gloomy. It was known that the distress which was now felt was the consequence of a glut rather than of a famine. The impending cotton dearth had, no doubt, its influence; but there was, as yet, no scarcity of cotton in Lancashire. The results of the short time of 1861 are written in the savings banks' return for that year, where it is seen that the amount withdrawn, in England alone, exceeds that paid in by £834,792, showing a larger surplus of abstraction than any since the year 1848, of revolutionary memory.

"In the latter months of this year, though the cotton famine was not evident in the warehouses of Manchester and Liverpool, it began to show signs of its approach in the streets and roads of the manufacturing towns. Groups of idlers, no longer listeners for the factory bell, were to be seen at every street corner. In busy times the operative class is only to be met with out-of-doors at regular intervals during the day—the clatter of their clogs or shoes on the pavement in the early morning, at mid-day, and in the evening; but now it was heard at all times—not with the quick step of full time, but with the dropping patter, so remindful of their blameless inactivity."

The cotton famine, it was believed on all sides, would not last long. Even among the operatives, few were willing to look upon the dark side of the prospect. The friends of the North believed that the South would tire of its folly; and, in the South, a similar feeling was entertained as regards the North. Still people in some quarters began to look forward with alarm. The Chamber of Commerce of Manchester evinced its fears with reference to the failure, by summoning a meeting to agitate the question of the cotton supply; and India, too long neglected, received some encouragement to increase her production of cotton. In a letter, dated 11th of November, and addressed, by the President of the Poor-Law Board, to the Board of Guardians throughout the district, they were informed, that "the Board viewed, with some apprehension, the effects which may ensue from the stagnation of the cotton trade; and that the Board were then considering the manner in which any unusual amount of distress may be effectually provided for. They were reminded that the machinery of the law was to be tempered with judicious management, and were promised that every assistance and facility should be given to them in the discharge of their arduous and increasing duties." By the end of the year it became evident extraordinary measures must be taken to meet the fast-accumulating destitution.

Wigan was among the first of the Lancashire towns, according to Mr. Arnold, to produce a definite organisation. At a meeting, held in the Moot Hall, on the 3rd of January, it was resolved that a committee should be formed, and measures adopted to alleviate the distress. It was stated that the operatives of Wigan were now losing £3,000 per week in wages; and £1,000 was raised in local subscriptions on the day of the meeting. By the 10th, the Wigan committee had collected £2,000, and divided their town into districts, each having its separate sub-committee. The mode of relief adopted, was that of giving cheques, of a certain value, upon provision-dealers, to be expended in such articles as the applicants chose. At Blackburn the distress now began to be great. A sub-committee devoted itself to the distribution of soup, and the Board of Guardians largely augmented the staff of relieving officers. The number of paupers in Blackburn was now increasing at the rate of 150 per week. Preston was next added to the list; and the numbers relieved in this borough, during the third week in January, were three times as numerous as those on the guardians' books in the same week of the preceding year. The guardians were perplexed how to act, between the necessity of granting relief and their unwillingness to class these unfortunate persons as paupers. Oldham, Bury, Rochdale—in fact, all towns in the district, more or less, began to suffer. The Poor-Law Board felt it their duty to refuse permission to suspend their order as to the relief of able-bodied men, which required that their



relief should be given half in money, half in kind, and that they should be set to work under the direction of the Board of Guardians. This order did not prohibit the bestowal of relief in cases of sudden or urgent necessity; nor did it compel the pauperisation, in the workhouse, of those to be relieved. It did not necessitate that their houses should be stripped of furniture, nor that they should be naked and homeless before they were fit subjects of relief. Had it not been for the general establishment, at this time, of local relief committees, the guardians would have failed to grapple with the surrounding distress. Early in February, Rochdale and other places followed the example of Wigan and Blackburn, as they, in their turn, may be supposed to have modelled their system on that of the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society, which had established a special fund for the relief of the operatives, and had already distributed food and clothing to nearly 6,000 persons. In the middle of February, a very decided stand was made in the Ashton and other Unions, against what was termed the labour test. The guardians were at their wits' ends to devise work, such as should meet the case of operatives whose soft fingers had never been accustomed to stone-breaking and oakum-picking. As the spring advanced the distress deepened, and all classes were seriously concerned; yet there was no word about the recognition of the South, or of hostility to the North. The *Manchester Examiner*, about this time, wrote—"Let this be said in favour of the political morality of Lancashire—that at a period of great and increasing gloom, when factious councillors and mischievous politicians told us that war was our only escape from ruin, and urged upon us an act of intervention, which would be carried out with the consent and applause of the whole country, we refused to buy prosperity at the cost of a public wrong, and were willing to suffer, rather than connive at the violation of a great principle." There can be no doubt that the operatives, thus quietly submitting to starvation, were strongly favourable to the Northern policy, firm in their hatred to slavery, and faith in democracy. By the majority of this class it was believed intervention would have brought relief; yet they opposed it to the very last. We must admire the nobility of the attitude they assumed. They believed they were martyrs for a principle, and were content to be such. But now a demand for help was made to the nation; and England, sympathising with Lancashire, anxious that nothing should occur to menace the strict neutrality which she desired to observe towards America, lent a ready ear to the tales of distress from the cotton districts.

London, as usual, was early in the field. Owing to the exertions of Mr. W. (now Alderman) Cotton, the Mansion-house committee was formed. On the 16th of May, the Lord Mayor informed the public, that a meeting had been held of the gentlemen who had interested themselves in the establishment of this fund, and that it was resolved to send £1,500 to the distressed districts. This was the first instalment of the relief given by what was known as the Lancashire and Cheshire Operative Relief Fund. Its committee has always been essentially executive; and its limitation to five or six members, gave great directness and simplicity to its action. Early in June, the Mansion-house committee—passed, by acclamation, from a provisional to an established committee—nominated a committee, and proceeded to organise that system of grants which continued as long as the occasion for them lasted. The labours of this committee were not interrupted by the retirement of Mr. Cubitt from his two years' tenancy of the Mansion-house. He was succeeded in the duties of chairman by Lord Mayor Rose.

If Manchester was later in the field, there were many reasons why this should be the case. In the first place, there was the Manchester and Salford District Provident Society already in existence. In the next place, the distress in Manchester was not very severe; and many thought that the crisis might be passed over without calling for any special measure of relief. At length it was evident to the men of Manchester that it was time to do something. Accordingly a conference was held in that city, and a central relief committee appointed. On the 20th of June, the central relief committee was formally established by resolution, and

consisted of the mayors and ex-mayors of the principal cotton districts, together with a number of gentlemen chiefly known in connection with the commercial interests of Manchester. Before the end of the month, the committee was in full working order; and had passed the following resolution, copies of which were sent to the lord-lieutenants of counties, the mayors of cities and boroughs, and other officials throughout the kingdom—"That the existing distress of the workpeople connected with the cotton trade in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and the well-founded expectations of its increasing in intensity as the winter approaches, warrant the committee in communicating to the various counties, cities, and towns of the country, that it is prepared to receive any sums that may be subscribed for the object in view, and will give its best attention to the proper and judicious distribution thereof."

In May the government sent Mr. Farnall into the distressed districts, as special commissioner, and directed him "to make inquiry into the operations of the poor-laws, and the orders of the Poor-Law Board at the present time, on the condition and habits of those workpeople who, from a great diminution in the demand for labour in the cotton districts of the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, have suddenly and unavoidably fallen into temporary distress." "He was," says Mr. Arnold, "requested to embrace every opportunity of personally communicating with all authorities and special organisations administering relief and succour to the poor; he was to interpret and define the true spirit and breadth of the poor-law; to create and sustain harmony; to promote liberal and judicious action; to examine into the manner in which the poor were relieved; to find out what labour was required of them, and to suggest the most suitable forms of employment. Finally, he was desired, by Mr. Villiers, to keep a daily journal of his proceedings, and to give a weekly report of the progress of his labours."

In the meanwhile the distress went on increasing; for it was long before the operative could bring himself to the degradation of asking parochial relief. On the faces of many of the claimants there was seen the blush of shame. A correspondent of the *Manchester Examiner* thus describes the scene usually to be witnessed at the board-room:—

"A clean old decrepit man presented himself. 'What brought you here, Joseph?' said the chairman. 'Why, aw've nought to do, nor nought to tak to.' 'What's your daughter Ellen doing, Joseph?' 'Hoos dawt o' wark.' 'And what's your wife doing?' 'Hoos bin bed-fast aboon five year.' The old man was relieved at once; but, as he walked away, he looked hard at his ticket, as if it was not exactly the kind of thing; and, turning round, he said—"Couldn't yo let me be a sweeper of the streets istid, Mr. Eccles." A clean old woman came up, with a snow-white nightcap on her head. 'Well, Mary, what do you want?' 'Aw could like yo to gi mo a bit o' summat, Mr. Eccles, for aw need it.' 'Well, but you have some lodgers, haven't you, Mary?' 'Yegh, aw've three.' 'Well, what do they pay you?' 'They pay'n no nought; they'n no wark; an' one cannot turn 'em eawt.' This was all quite true. 'Well, but you live with your son, don't you?' continued the chairman. 'Naw,' replied the old woman, 'he lives wi' me, and he's eawt of wark too. An could like yo to do a bit o' summat for us; we're hard put to it.' 'Don't you think she'd better be in the workhouse?' said one of the guardians. 'Oh, no,' replied another, 'don't send the old woman there: let her keep her own little place together if she can.' Another old woman presented herself, with a threadbare shawl drawn closely round her grey head. 'Well, Ann,' said the chairman, 'there's nobody but yourself and your John, is there?' 'Naw.' 'What age are you?' 'Awm seventy.' 'Seventy?' 'Aye aw am.' 'Well, and what age is your John?' 'He's going i' seventy-four.' 'Where is he, Ann?' 'Well, aw laft him deawn i' th' street yon gettin a load o' coals in.' There was a murmur of approbation round the Board, and the old woman was sent away relieved, and thankful. There were many of all ages, clean in person and bashful in manner, with their poor clothing put into the tidiest possible trim: others were dirty and



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consisted of the mayors and ex-mayors of the principal cotton districts, together with a number of gentlemen chiefly known in connection with the commercial interests of Manchester. Before the end of the month, the committee was in full working order; and had passed the following resolution, copies of which were sent to the lord-lieutenants of counties, the mayors of cities and boroughs, and other officials throughout the kingdom—"That the existing distress of the workpeople connected with the cotton trade in Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire, and the well-founded expectations of its increasing in intensity as the winter approaches, warrant the committee in communicating to the various counties, cities, and towns of the country, that it is prepared to receive any sums that may be subscribed for the object in view, and will give its best attention to the proper and judicious distribution thereof."

In May the government sent Mr. Farnall into the distressed districts, as special commissioner, and directed him "to make inquiry into the operations of the poor-laws, and the orders of the Poor-Law Board at the present time, on the condition and habits of those workpeople who, from a great diminution in the demand for labour in the cotton districts of the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, have suddenly and unavoidably fallen into temporary distress." "He was," says Mr. Arnold, "requested to embrace every opportunity of personally communicating with all authorities and special organisations administering relief and succour to the poor; he was to interpret and define the true spirit and breadth of the poor-law; to create and sustain harmony; to promote liberal and judicious action; to examine into the manner in which the poor were relieved; to find out what labour was required of them, and to suggest the most suitable forms of employment. Finally, he was desired, by Mr. Villiers, to keep a daily journal of his proceedings, and to give a weekly report of the progress of his labours."

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starvation, as was pronounced by the jury on the inquest. The dark damp hovel where they had crept to was scarcely four yards square; and the poor woman pointed to one corner of the floor, saying, 'He deed i' that corner.' He died there with nothing to lay upon but the ground, and nothing to cover him in that fireless hovel. His wife and children crept about him there to watch him die, and to keep him as warm as they could. When the relief committee first found them out, the entire clothing of the family of seven persons weighed eight pounds, and sold for fivepence as rags."

As the distress increased, further exertions to relieve it were made. A meeting at Lord Ellesmere's was held, and the Cotton Districts Relief Fund was formed, with the Earl of Derby for chairman; Colonel Wilson Patten for treasurer; and, for secretary, Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. This committee naturally attracted the support of the wealthy classes of the metropolis, and money flowed fast into its coffers. By the 8th of August its funds amounted to £40,000. Ultimately the central executive committee was formed. The three relief funds, collected, respectively, at Manchester, Bridgewater House, and Liverpool, were placed at its disposal. It was resolved that the central executive committee should meet every Monday at Manchester; and it was arranged that notice should then be received of the grants which had been made during the previous week, from the funds of the Mansion-house committee, who now seemed determined, in spite of several overtures for amalgamation, to remain a separate and independent organisation. The complete system of local relief committees was then organised; and the result was, no corner of the district was unvisited, and no deserving person was left unrelieved. The Lancashire lasses excited much sympathy: their danger was peculiar and great; they could not dig; they were ashamed to beg; and it was a happy thought which led to their employment in sewing-schools, wherein they acquired facility in another and more domestically useful description of cotton work than that to which they had been accustomed in the factories; and, what was of equal value, they were submitted to order and discipline, and learnt not a few lessons, the benefits of which will endure as long as life. To the Manchester Board of Guardians must be given the credit of this step. It also has the distinction of having been the first to recommend that educational exercises should be accepted as the labour required in return for relief. Subsequently, male adult schools were established. Mr. Redgrave, one of the factory inspectors, thus speaks of them:—

"At the male adult schools I have occasionally thought there was an appearance of weariness; but this is not surprising. The employment of females, in sewing and knitting, was a proper and congenial occupation for them; and though the attendance of classes might have been somewhat irksome, yet, upon the whole, they were all doing something which had a practical result. In some schools they made shirts for the militia; in some they made all kinds of clothing, for distribution by the relief committee, and, in others, for sale; but in the male adult schools, it was not found possible to set the men at work upon an occupation which would be equally congenial to them. Wherever it was possible, the men were taught trades, as shoemaking and mending, carpentering, mat-making, &c.; but the number was comparatively small; and the great bulk of the operatives attended school merely as a condition of relief. The life of a labourer is monotonous. He rises at a given hour; goes to work—to the same work—every day; does to-day as he did yesterday: but that which makes his life a cheerful one is, that he receives the value of his labour. In these schools, it was impossible not to feel that the time spent there was, compared with their former labour, unproductive; and I was, therefore, the more impressed with the attention of the men in these classes, and the anxiety of so many to improve themselves, especially in arithmetic. It sometimes caused a shade of melancholy to see an old grey-headed man leaning over his desk, and poring through a sum in reduction or practice; but this was relieved by being told, by a frank-spoken spinner, in his own hearty manner, while



showing the sketches of geography, and what he was reading, 'They could not give us work, and so God put it into their hearts to give us the next best to it.' These men cannot return to their homes without feeling that instruction is one means of adding to happiness, and to the purpose of life. They frequently expressed their conviction that they had lost much from not having had more instruction in their younger days; and the desire for their children to attend school, and to improve them, has certainly been shown favourably."

Before parliament was prorogued, Mr. Villiers brought in his Rate in Aid Bill—a judicious step. He had to select between national grants, the bestowal of special borrowing powers upon each parish, and the rate in aid. He wisely preferred the latter.

In bringing his measure before the House of Commons, Mr. Villiers did not conceal his apprehension that the distress would seriously increase; but, at the same time, he was unwilling to admit that the ordinary sources of relief were, as yet, inadequate. He was careful also to show that his proposal was not entirely new, but that it aimed at giving vitality to the existing law. When first laid on the table of the House, the bill proposed that the rate or aid should come into operation in any parish in which the expenditure for the relief of the poor exceeded by two-thirds that of previous years. At first, it was proposed, that in case of a Union becoming insolvent, the parishes of the county should be liable to a rate for its assistance. The power of putting the act into operation was to remain with the Poor-Law Board, who were to be invested with authority to recommend the issuing of an order in council, directing the levy of the rate in aid. The bill was received with much favour in the district. In the House of Commons, a somewhat different feeling was manifested by the Lancashire members. Mr. Cobden urged that the government should allow the guardians a power of contracting loans, to be lent to the distressed operatives, who, he stated, would gladly repay every farthing upon the return of good times. In committee, Mr. Villiers introduced amendments fixing the amount of rates, upon payment of which, the parish might call for a rate in aid upon the Union, and the Union upon the county—at five shillings in both cases; and substituting a special order of the Poor-Law Board for the proposed order in council. Upon Mr. Potter's suggestion, Derbyshire was included. While the House was in committee on the bill, Mr. Cobden reproved Lord Palmerston for his want of appreciation of the mill-owners' sympathy with their unfortunate hands. He stated roundly, that ninety-nine of every hundred of the manufacturers were working at a loss. This, adds Mr. Arnold, may have been correct in the present tense, and within the technical definition of the term manufacturer; but he would be very reckless of truth who should now assert that these ninety and nine were actual losers by their industry. Besides, there was a class of cotton-spinners whose goods were, even then, in very active and profitable demand. If we are to believe Mr. Arnold, Lord Palmerston had a truer perception of the character of the Lancashire mill-owners than Mr. Cobden. Mr. Arnold writes—"Manchester and Liverpool men made their millions, and subscribed their thousands. The inference from their conduct is—not that any other community would have been more liberal, but rather that the commercial spirit does not encourage generosity to overgrow the other sentiments of human nature. Such behaviour will not, however, have been without its moral, if it should dispel that most absurd illusion, that liberality is the corollary of affluence."

But to return to the Union Relief Aid Bill, which was further modified in committee. It was suggested that it would be much more easy to pay the extra burdens of these hard times upon the return of prosperity; and that therefore a power of raising loans would be preferable to that of calling for a rate in aid. It was further contended, that as the excess of rates above the average amount would be incident upon the occupier without imposing any charge upon the property owner, by deferring the time of payment, the burden would be borne with more proportionate equality. These suggestions were both plausible and just. When it

was seen to be the desire of the legislature to grant this borrowing power, no objection was raised on the part of the government. Their endeavour, in framing the measure, had been to adhere, as closely as possible, to the principle of the existing law. As an alternative for the rate in aid, it was conceded that the Board of Guardians, with the sanction of the Poor-Law Board, might raise loans, to be secured upon the common fund of the Union. Three shillings in the pound was subsequently fixed, in lieu of five shillings, as the amount of rates which a parish must bear before calling for the rate in aid. Finally, a clause was inserted, giving the chairman and vice-chairman of a Union power to appoint a guardian to represent the Union in the extraordinary administration of relief under this act—a privilege which, it may be said, was never made use of. In the House of Lords, the Union Relief Aid Bill received some discussion, but no amendment. Opposition lords reproached it for coming so late in the session; and expected that Lancashire would have borne rates of ten shillings in the pound before appealing to the legislature for assistance. They assumed that the present annual charge for poor-rates in Lancashire was two shillings in the pound; which, though true if the total amount collected had been charged upon the assessment of the county, was by no means true of certain townships and parishes. In support of the measure, it was shown that its introduction at the commencement of the session, would have had the effect of lessening the national sympathy for the distressed population of the cotton districts, and of diminishing the local ability of self-help. It was also shown that the poor-rate of Preston was, at this date, seven times greater than it had been in the previous year; and a Lancashire peer gave it as his opinion, that a five-shilling rate would be, in fact, a fifteen-shilling rate upon those who could pay the demand of the overseers. Three days after the bill became law, and in the royal speech at the end of the parliamentary session, there was a flattering recognition of the manner in which Lancashire was bearing her trials. It must be remarked that the queen's sympathy was not confined alone to words. In July, as Duchess of Lancashire, she had subscribed £2,000 to the relief fund.

The distress darkened and deepened. The condition of the operatives of Blackburn, who had goods pledged to the amount of £30,000 in the pawnbrokers' shops, is thus described by the *Times*' correspondent:—

"With all it was the same tale: savings spent; credit exhausted; the pawnshop or the auction-room; and, last of all, the terrible alternative—starvation or relief. One small street I found entirely occupied by the workpeople employed at one mill which had been stopped more than a twelvemonth ago. Every family had passed through the last winter without wages, and were now at the end of their resources, dependent entirely on relief of some kind. Most of them had been receiving it for weeks past; but in hardly a single cottage was there to be seen more than a couple of chairs and a table, and round the walls a few gay pictures, for which the weaver seems to have as great a passion as the collier. Some of them were lying four and five in a bed; others on a bundle of straw; and all had run considerably in debt. At one corner of the street was kept a little provision and drapery store, by an old woman, who had fed and clothed the street for some fifteen years past. To deal elsewhere would have been a breach of custom and tradition which no respectable inhabitant had ever been known to commit. I am afraid to say how deeply the street has got into this benevolent woman's debt. Her heart had bled for her customers; she could not bear to see them want what she could supply; and, little by little, she had allowed their scores to run on until the sum total must be something considerable. Nearly all owed to being £4 or £5 back in their shop, as the phrase is; some to £7; and a few even to £10: and one could but admire the perfect confidence of their creditor, that when good times returned, every farthing of it would speedily be wiped off. In this way the tender-hearted shopkeeper had helped many a family through the hard time, and supplied them with articles which do not enter into public relief. 'If it had not been for her,' said a poor woman, 'where should I have got a bit of soap to wash my



children.' Such instances I am told are not uncommon; and, indeed, nothing is more creditable to the workpeople than the manner in which they have sympathised with each other's distress, and assisted each other wherever there was the power. The hands yet fully employed have subscribed very liberally to the relief fund; and I have heard of cases where a man on full time would yield up his looms for a couple of days or so to a less fortunate friend, to give him a chance of earning a few shillings. Even the poorest, who have nothing else to offer, will give the shelter of their roof to those who could not afford to pay for lodgings; and there are many young girls who have been living rent-free for months in this way—a week with one family, and a week with another. In one house, of the lowest class, I saw, lying on chairs, a little child, not more than two months old, whose mother, a lodger in the house, had died just after its birth. The mistress of the house—an old woman, who got her living by hawking hearthstone about, with not the best character in the world, and who had just had her dole of meal stopped because she had been caught giving it to her donkey—sooner than send the little thing to the workhouse, had taken on herself the responsibility of bringing it up. The street which I have mentioned was fortunate in one respect—all the houses belonged to their employer; and none of the inhabitants had been called on to pay rent for a twelvemonth. There are many landlords here who are losing heavily; and when they happen to be poor men, who have scraped and saved, and acquired cottage property through building societies, they are very much to be pitied. One of the hardest cases I have seen was that of a poor widow, with two young children, whose husband had left her with three cottages. They ought to have brought her in 9s. a week; but, for some months, she had scarcely got more than 3s. She had just been served with a summons for 18s., poor-rates for them, which, of course, she was just as able to pay as the national debt. She had her own rent to pay; and, of course, was shut out from all relief by the rules both of the guardians and the relief committee."

As the winter approached, the whole country was aroused. The bishops issued pastorals to their clergy on the subject. Cardinal Wiseman had done the same. Nor were the various classes of dissenters behindhand. The army and navy had contributed their cash, and the colonies had sent freely of their abundance. The thanks of the committee were wafted to Buenos Ayres, for a donation of £415, and to Bangalore for half that amount. Egypt had her acknowledgments for value received; and many cities and towns of the United Kingdom. Belfast and Newcastle, Dublin and Tunbridge Wells, with many others, partook of the same reward. Oxford had opened her mythical chest; Birmingham had sent her monies; wealthy firms had made large donations: one had forwarded 3,000 needles, and another 2,000 tons of coals. In rural districts the cry of relief for Lancashire had been raised, and not in vain. At this time there were 208,621 persons in receipt of parochial relief; and, besides this large number of paupers, there were 143,870 persons relieved by the local committees. In November, destitution advanced at the rate of 3,000 persons a day. In one week in December, when the maximum of distress was recorded, the numbers reached a total of 496,816 persons supported by parochial or charitable funds. In January, 1863, things began to mend. There was a satisfactory increase in the numbers employed, and a corresponding diminution of the responsibilities of the relief committees.

In February, the speech from the throne contained an allusion to the cotton manufacturing districts. Her majesty expressed heartfelt grief at the severity of the distress, and acknowledged the noble fortitude and exemplary resignation with which it had been borne. She referred to the abundant generosity with which all classes of her subjects, in all parts of the empire, had contributed to relieve the wants of their fellow-countrymen; and spoke of the liberality with which her colonial subjects had given their aid, as proving that, although their dwelling-places were far away, their hearts were still warm with unabated affection for the land of their fathers. The royal speech also made well-deserved mention

of the relief committees, as having superintended, with constant and laborious attention, the distribution of the funds entrusted to their charge.

Lord Derby, on the motion for the address, spoke at length with regard to the condition and prospects of Lancashire. He said that the cutting off of the material of a manufacture which had risen to such an unparalleled height, was, however, expected to produce worse miseries than those which had overwhelmed the manufacturing districts: and with graceful depreciation of his own exertions, he referred, in terms of eulogy, to those men of business, who, "engaged in transactions on which it was necessary for them to bestow constant attention, gave hours and days, and weeks and months, of their time gratuitously, and without the slightest recompense, except the consciousness of the good they were doing, to the alleviation of the distress around them." He pointed out the hardship, while acknowledging the necessity, of making no distinction, in the distribution of relief, between those who had been earning 30s. and 40s. a week as wages, and those who had only earned 7s. or 8s.; and the natural consequence, that while the distress had been severely felt by the higher classes of workmen, by the lowest it had been scarcely felt at all. He foretold the increasing difficulties of the small capitalists; and predicted that two or three years must elapse before the cotton trade would enjoy ordinary prosperity. In the Commons, Mr. Villiers introduced and carried a bill for the continuance of the Union Relief Aid Act. In the course of the debate which followed, it was mentioned that as many as 4,000 persons in Oldham had, in one fortnight, changed their position from rate-payers to rate-receivers.

About this time there was a little rioting in the suffering districts. When the American ship, *George Griswold*, arrived, laden with contributions, the occasion was chosen for the purpose of making a demonstration. In celebration of the Prince of Wales's marriage, a meeting was convened in Stevenson's Square, Manchester; the chaplain of the *George Griswold* was to attend, and there was to be a distribution of 15,000 loaves. They were to follow the bread in procession to Kersal Moor; and a prominent part of the pageant was to consist of two boats drawn on luries; one from the relief ship, flying the stars and stripes, manned with sailors; the other a black and suspicious-looking craft, with a crew of men in the stage-dress of pirates. A row ensued; loaves were thrown about—were trodden upon—were appropriated in armfuls by the least respectable, and, probably, the least necessitous portion of the crowd. At Staleybridge, where there were many Irish, more lawless proceedings took place; the stores were broken into and plundered; the Riot Act was read; the hussars cleared the streets, and many rioters were imprisoned. An effort was made to extend the disorder to Ashton-under-Lyne, where shop-breaking and stone-throwing were also perpetrated. Dunkinfield and Hyde were visited by crowds of marauders; but after a good deal of contention, and swearing, and fighting, the rioters gradually dispersed, and the rioting ceased. At Stockport, an attempt was made to foment disorder by a similar class to that which had been guilty of rioting in the Staleybridge district. A considerable number of men had been employed by the Stockport Board of Guardians, in making roads, and other out-door work. The suggestion of a paltry grievance was sufficient to cause a partial strike, and to collect a crowd. A few broken windows, however, was the worst result. The men in the relief schools at Stockport flatly refused to join the rioters, as did the better class of out-door labourers; and this, together with the resolute attitude of the authorities, quickly succeeded in quelling the disturbance. At Wigan the same agitation prevailed. A procession, numbering 440 recipients of relief, marched to the workhouse, where the Board of Guardians were assembled, to lay before them a bill of complaint. "Their hours of work, from seven to five, were considered too long; the guardians were not sufficiently liberal; and they had been called savages by a local paper." Ultimately, all the grievances were satisfactorily explained, and work was speedily resumed. At Preston, also, there was a tendency to riot, which, however, was soon suppressed.

Mr. Ferrand, the somewhat notorious M.P. for Devonport (who had been



a champion of the operatives in the agitation to obtain the passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, and also a champion of the farmers, in opposing the abolition of the corn-laws), endeavoured to get parliament to act more directly in the matter than it had hitherto done. On the 28th of April, he moved, amid general cheering, "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of the government to take into consideration, without delay, what measures may be necessary to relieve the distress which prevails in the cotton manufacturing districts, so that the people may no longer continue unemployed." Although Mr. Ferrand did not directly state the form of employment he would recommend, the tone of his speech indicated a comprehensive measure of emigration, to be carried on with the patronage of the state. To his resolution, the member for Carlisle moved, as an amendment, the appointment of a royal commission, to inquire into, and report upon, the subject. Mr. Villiers stated that he had already determined to send into the district a commissioner, to direct as to the employment of the operatives in draining and improving agricultural land: and here the discussion terminated. Mr. Robert Rawlinson, the civil engineer selected, was well chosen. He was a Lancashire man; and had taken a high position as a sanitary reformer. He had long been in the service of the government. He had been a sanitary commissioner with the army in the Crimea; and he was now chief inspector of the Local Government Act office. He was the man to send down to Lancashire, which needed sanitary reform. The rate of mortality was nearly one-half per cent. higher in Lancashire and Cheshire than the rest of England. There was little house-drainage; dirt-heaps were formed all round the dwellings of the poor; many of the streets were unpaved; the rivers also were polluted. Mr. Rawlinson's estimate was, that £1,500,000 might be spent in forming main sewers, house-drains, street-paving, suburban roads, parks, and recreation grounds; enclosing waste land, land-drainage, &c., &c. In one of his reports to the President of the Poor-Law Board, Mr. Rawlinson writes—

"1. There is plenty of useful work to be done at the several distressed towns and places.

"2. The governing bodies, so far as I have consulted with them, will commence such works if they can obtain legal power, and necessary money at a low rate of interest.

"3. A large portion of the able-bodied operatives can, and will, do this work, if paid fair, but reasonable wages.

"4. There is sufficient local knowledge to design and superintend any works commenced.

"5. Any advance of money by government should be as a loan, on security of the entire rateable property of each district, at a remunerative rate of interest, and repayable at stated intervals.

"6. For each loan, a petition, with plans and estimates, to be forwarded to some government office or officer on the spot, if preferred; and a report or recommendation to be sent in before such loan is granted.

"7. Advances to be made, not in a lump sum for the whole amount of the loan contracted for, but upon certain certificates monthly, as the work is done.

"8. The local authorities to be enabled to stop short, at any point in the progress of the works, should trade revive so as to call the hands to regular work.

"9. The money borrowed should not be appropriated for other works than those scheduled in the report leading to the sanction.

"One or two inspectors, as at the Local Government Act office, ought to do all the government work required.

"The action of the local authorities must be unfettered, or there will be mischief. There may be advice when asked for, as under the Local Government Act.

"The several town-clerks may, with advantage, be consulted as to the legal clauses in any short bill, if one is to be prepared.

"There are mostly some legal peculiarities in each place, which block local im-

provement. I feel the delicacy, and, in some respects, danger, in exceptional legislation; but do not know how it is to be avoided in this case."

A measure, accordingly, was proposed by Mr. Villiers—the Public Works Bill—and carried. Its object was to promote the class of works which would afford employment for the largest amount of unskilled labour. The public works loan commissioners (by no means a new body) were to be the depositaries of the fund applicable to the purposes of the bill; who were to advance loans upon the authority of orders of the Poor-Law Board, after the Board had satisfied themselves that the borrowing powers were valid, and through the inspection and report of their officers that the plans were correct, the estimates reasonable, and the works such as were sanctioned by the provisions of the bill. The measure gave universal satisfaction. The *Manchester Guardian*, on the day following the introduction of the bill, said—"As soon as it has become law, no locality which possesses the power of levying rates, will be able to allege its want of means as an excuse for not finding employment for its distressed population." It was also equally approved of by the members for the cotton districts, and the central executive committee.

Nor was this all that was done in this session of parliament. The House of Commons devoted a night to Mr. Caird's motion for a select committee, to inquire whether any further measures could be taken within the legitimate functions of the Indian government, for increasing the supply of cotton from that country. Mr. Caird, who was distinguished for his agricultural knowledge, stated that the Indian field of production was unlimited; and that, though the climate of India was warmer by 12° than the Southern States, yet that the deficiency of rain might easily be obviated by works of irrigation. It was contended by Mr. Cobden, as the representative of the manufacturers, that the government, the gigantic absentee landlord of this Indian farm, was blamable for refusing to encourage the production of cotton by the remission of the land-tax. Sir Charles Wood had declined to allow the remission even upon small patches of land in Madras. He maintained that the distress of the cotton districts ought not to be relieved at the expense of the people of India. But the moral of the debate was spoken by Mr. Bright, in the words, that "there was no short cut to that which it was wanted to obtain."

In committee upon the new Continuance Bill of the Union Relief Aid Act, Mr. Villiers proposed two amendments, which were both agreed to—the first being, that six shillings should be substituted for five, as the charge to be borne upon the net rateable value of the Unions, before they were empowered to call for contributions from their counties. Experience of the worst season of distress had shown that this amount would render the county rate in aid practically inoperative, as no Union would endure rates amounting to six shillings while possessed of the power of borrowing. This power Mr. Villiers now proposed to facilitate by his second amendment, authorising the loan commissioners to make advances to the Union, chargeable to the common fund, and repayable in twenty years, with interest at 3½ per cent.—a concession, says Mr. Arnold, "not quite guiltless of wise indulgence." Lancashire has owed much to the exceptional circumstances which caused her distress; much to their incidence upon the national policy; much to the influence and the dread of her concentrated population. All this, together with the temporary nature of the crisis, and the desirability of excluding discontent from the district, pleaded for allowance of this easy postponement of local burdens, with a force which it might well be thought could rarely so establish a subsequent claim; and the power was given as one strictly exceptional.

In 1864, the good effect of the Public Works Act was everywhere felt. It raised the spirits of the operatives by giving them remunerative employment, the results of which they, and their children after them, would enjoy; and it produced an excellent effect upon the numerous class of small shopkeepers, who had suffered grievously through the distress. In his Report, November 7th, 1864, Mr. Rawlinson says—"It is impossible to calculate precisely the effect of such an expenditure upon local employment. During the last twelve months, it was the opinion of



many well-informed persons, that the production of cotton manufactures had fallen to as low a point as in the corresponding period of 1862. For the week ending the 29th of October, 1864, 6,424 men were employed; of whom 2,422 were skilled. I estimate the number engaged in getting stone and other materials at not less than 2,000, which will make a total of 8,424; who, with their dependent families, will represent a population of from 30,000 to 40,000 persons, deriving their subsistence from these works."

The story of the Lancashire distress need not be further told. The crisis was past; and, by the sufferers, it had been bravely borne. England had never given her working classes credit for such self-control—such wisdom—such endurance. The nation had done her duty; a better understanding had been created between the upper and lower classes of society; and the bitter feeling often cherished by the men towards the masters was softened and removed. The cotton famine was not an unmixed calamity. It inculcated habits of providence and co-operation; and it gave an impulse to education and sanitary improvement, which must issue in permanent and beneficial results. It, besides, taught the mill-owners of the north not to be dependent on one country alone for a supply of cotton; and thus it gave an additional impulse to commerce and friendly relations between ourselves and other states. Twenty years ago the cotton famine would have nearly plunged us into civil war. That such was not now the case shows the marvellous triumphs of popular education and a cheap press. The lesson is to be deeply pondered over by our rulers, too much inclined to fear the people, and to shrink from contact with them. To each and all of them, the history of the cotton famine says, in the language of one of old—"Oh, thou of little faith, wherefore dost thou doubt?"

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## CHAPTER XIX.

### PUBLIC FESTIVITIES, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY.

WE turn from the record of war and national calamity to other and more joyous themes.

In 1862 there was another International Exhibition in London. It was opened, May the 1st, with great pomp and ceremony. Lord Palmerston, of course, officiated in it; and, whenever visible, was loudly cheered.

The foreign nations whose contributions were displayed in this vast area, were represented by thirty-four acting commissioners. There were thirty to watch over the products of the British colonies and dependencies. London was alive with the men of commerce from all lands, who came to compare and to learn; and, besides, there came the critics, to record and to judge. Even Japan sent her ambassadors to take notes. The annual meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held in the capital of England this year. The Royal Agricultural Society held its annual exhibition at Battersea Park. There was a Handel festival, with 4,000 performers, at the Crystal Palace. The volunteers met at Wimbledon, and Lord Palmerston distributed the prizes. There never had been such feasting in London before, in spite of the cloud of sorrow which rested heavily on the home of the English queen. The city feasted the Viceroy of Egypt; and, besides, gave a ball to 3,000 persons. There was a great Social Science *soirée*, in the queen's palace of Westminster. At a friendly dinner given to the foreign workmen who came over to visit the Exhibition, a letter from Lord Palmerston to the secretary was read. "I am glad," wrote his lordship, "that you are going to give a welcome to the working-men of France, who have come to visit our Exhibition; and I hope you will explain to them that there ought

to be emulation, but no jealousy, between the productive industries of England and France." In 1862, 6,087,000 persons visited the Exhibition in Brompton.

The following were the words (by the poet-laureate) sung to Professor Bennett's music at the opening :—

" Uplift a thousand voices full and sweet,  
In this wide hall with earth's inventions stored,  
And praise th' invisible universal Lord,  
Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,  
Where Science, Art, and Labour have out-poured  
Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet.

" O, silent father of our Kings to be,  
Mourn'd in this golden hour of jubilee,  
For this, for all, we weep our thanks to thee !

" The world-compelling plan was thine,  
And, lo ! the long laborious miles  
Of Palace ; lo ! the giant aisles,  
Rich in model and design ;  
Harvest-tool and husbandry,  
Loom and wheel, and engin'ry,  
Secrets of the sullen mine,  
Steel and gold, and corn and wine,  
Fabric rough, or Fairy fine,  
Sunny tokens of the Line,  
Polar marvels, and a feast  
Of wonder, out of West or East,  
And shapes and hues of Art divine,  
All of beauty, all of use,  
That one fair planet can produce,  
Brought from under every star,  
Blown from over every main,  
And mixt, as life is mixt with pain,  
The works of peace with works of war.

" O ye, the wise who think, the wise who reign,  
From growing commerce loose her latest chain,  
And let the fair white-winged peacemaker fly  
To happy havens under all the sky,  
And mix the seasons and the golden hours,  
Till each man find his own in all men's good,  
And all men work in noble brotherhood,  
Breaking their mailed fleets and armed towers,  
And ruling by obeying nature's powers,  
And gathering all the fruits of peace, and crowned with all her  
flowers."

The building, by Messrs. Kelk and Lucas, in Brompton, was not much admired ; but it was very large, and was well filled with the products of the industries of all the nations of the earth. The death of the Prince Consort was, however, to it a very heavy blow. There was no one with authority, or tact, or knowledge, or judgment to take his place. Had he lived, and been enabled to preside over it, the Exhibition would have been of a far higher character ; but it was a success nevertheless. Fortunately there were no great expectations formed ; we had no hopes of universal peace ; little was said about the brotherhood of nations ; and the allusions to the millennium, even on the part of clerical gentlemen, were few and far between.

At the distribution of the medals and rewards, in July, Lord Taunton read the report of the council of chairmen on the work of the juries, which we subjoin in full.

"The work of the several juries having been brought to a termination, it becomes the duty of the council of chairmen to explain the manner in which the juries were constituted, and the result of their labours.

"The juries consist of English and foreign members in varying proportions.



The English jurors were, in the first place, nominated by exhibitors; and these nominations having been carefully considered, her majesty's commissioners invariably appointed such persons as appeared to be named by the general agreement of a trade or district. In cases where the nominations were not made on a common understanding, the royal commissioners were guided in their choice by the number of votes given to particular individuals; and, in some instances, by the desire expressed by exhibitors, that the commissioners should themselves select persons possessing the necessary qualifications.

"The British colonies were represented by jurors recommended by the several colonial commissioners.

"Foreign nations taking part in the Exhibition had a right to nominate one juror for every class in which they were represented by twenty exhibitors, and for every section of a class in which they had fifteen exhibitors. As an alternative, each nation had a certain number of jurors allotted to it, in proportion to the space which it occupied in the building; and several countries accepted this alternative. Her majesty's commissioners, without fixing any arbitrary proportion between foreign and English jurors, appointed as many of the latter to each jury as the experience of past Exhibitions showed to be necessary for its efficiency.

"The juries were sixty-five in number, grouped so as to form thirty-six classes, or head juries, corresponding to the thirty-six industrial classes, under which the objects are arranged in the Exhibition. Each of these head juries, when subdivided into sections, acted as a united body for the confirmation of awards. Before, however, these awards were considered final, they were brought before, and received the sanction of, a council, consisting of the chairmen of the thirty-six head juries. The chairmen forming the council which regulated the affairs of the juries were nominated by her majesty's commissioners from the jurors of different nations, a number being allotted to each country relatively to the space assigned to it in the building. The council was presided over by a chairman appointed by her majesty's commissioners.

"Her majesty's commissioners decided that only one description of medal should be awarded by the juries. This decision considerably facilitated their labours, as it became necessary only to reward excellence wherever it was found, without reference to competition between exhibitors. As the work of the juries advanced, it was ascertained that many articles possessed excellence of a kind which deserved a special mention, without, however, entitling them to a medal; and, although it involved some departure from the principle that had been originally laid down, yet the council of chairmen acceded to the wish of the juries, and permitted such cases to be classed and published under the title of 'honourable mentions.'

"The jurors and their associates engaged in examining the objects of the Exhibition, amounted to 615 persons; of whom 287 were foreigners, and 328 English. They are men of high social, scientific, and industrial position, drawn from nearly every civilised country in the world. Their labours have occupied two months, and have been of the most arduous description, as they had to examine the objects displayed by at least 25,000 exhibitors. It can scarcely be expected that none of the articles exhibited have escaped their attention. In a few instances, the delay of arrival or of arrangement has rendered it impossible for the juries to examine every article now within the building; while in other cases, errors in classification have rendered it doubtful to which of the juries the duty of examining some particular objects should fall. Every effort, however, has been made to conquer these obstacles; and the omissions, if any, must be very few in number, and are not owing to the want of attention of the juries or of the officers engaged in facilitating their work.

"The number of medals voted by the juries amounts to nearly 7,000; and the 'honourable mentions' to about 5,300. The proportion of awards to exhibitors is greater than in the International Exhibition of 1851, but less than in that of 1855.



"Notwithstanding the varied nationalities represented in the juries, it is gratifying to record that the utmost harmony has prevailed during the whole time that the jurors have been associated in their labours. The mutual dependence and intimate alliance between the industries of the world, have been illustrated by the zealous and impartial efforts of the jurors of different nations to recognise and reward the merit displayed in the exhibitions of their industrial competitors.

"We are glad to observe that the state of industry shown in the International Exhibition, gives evidence of a singularly active and healthy progress throughout the civilised world; for while we find every nation searching for new raw materials, or utilising products hitherto considered as waste, we are struck especially with the vast improvement in the machinery employed to adapt them to industrial purposes, as well as with the applications of science, and with the great and successful attention which is now given to all the arts necessary to gratify our taste and sense of beauty.

"We cannot conclude this report without expressing our obligations to Dr. Lyon Playfair, the special commissioner for juries, for the constant and intelligent assistance which he has rendered to us throughout our labours, as well as to the deputy commissioners and secretary, who have acted under his direction, and have afforded efficient aid to the several juries during their inquiries."

Lord Palmerston himself was a great man for opening Exhibitions. At the one by working-men in the Westminster Road, he thus spoke :—

"Ladies and gentlemen,—I must, in the first place, express the deep gratification it has afforded me to be allowed to take part in what has been truly one of the most interesting ceremonies I have ever witnessed in my life. What can be more interesting to any man who takes an interest in the welfare and happiness of his fellow-countrymen, and the development of talent among them, than to have seen pass before him that goodly thread of men, women, and children, recipients of prizes awarded for the merits which they have displayed in the Exhibition just closed this day? If there be some whose not unreasonable expectations of higher rewards have been disappointed, they should recollect that the judges appointed by the body of exhibitors had a most difficult task to perform; difficult exactly in proportion to the amount of talent displayed by the exhibitors. Because where there are 600 candidates for distinction, and 300 prizes to be awarded, great, indeed, must be the difficulty of picking out the 300 best. It is impossible that the most accurate judgment, and the most sedulous care in selecting half the names of so large a body, where all have displayed great merit, could satisfy every man that his merits have been duly appreciated, and the reward assigned to him which he thinks ought to have been his meed. It is indeed remarkable that such intellectual distinction should have been exhibited by persons of all ages, of both sexes, even by some whose military uniform showed that their leisure hours are occupied in the service of their country; and by those also who, from their affliction, might be supposed disqualified from competing in such an Exhibition as this. I have seen many recipients of medals pass before me to-day, whom you could scarcely see on account of the lowness of their stature—children, almost, of precocious talent, from whom we may fairly expect that, in their maturer age, they will arrive at great distinction in their respective careers. This Exhibition, and the works which it contained, are extremely significant of the happy constitution under which we have the good fortune to live—that constitution which opens to every man having talent, industry, perseverance, and good conduct, any honours and distinctions which his turn of mind and attainments may qualify him to aspire to. We live under a constitutional monarchy; and of such a monarchy, an aristocracy of wealth and an aristocracy of rank are essential ingredients. It is true that aristocracies of wealth and rank exist in many other countries; but, unfortunately, there are almost impassable barriers separating them from the rest of the nation. But no such barriers exist in this country. With regard to the aristocracy of wealth, the medals distributed to-day have inscribed on them the names



of a great number of men, who, starting from very small beginnings, attained by their talent, their industry, their perseverance, and their good conduct, the very highest positions of social merit and distinction. Many more might have been added to that list. And you must have all seen, in your own experience, men starting from the smallest beginnings, who have in this very city realised princely fortunes. In the manufacturing districts examples of this kind are abundant; for no man can go, even for a few days, into those districts without hearing of great wealth acquired by men who started with little; but, by their talents and genius, raised themselves and their families to opulence. Then, again, does the aristocracy of rank in this country consist simply of those who can count in their pedigree generations of noble ancestors? Look at all the great men who have figured in public life. Look at your army, your navy, your law, your church, your statesmen. You will find, in every one of those careers, men who have risen to the highest points; who have either themselves started from the smallest beginnings, or whose fathers began with nothing but their talents, their industry, and their energy to aid them. I do not mention the names of any of these; though, for the men themselves, and for their families, it would be a most honourable roll: but you are all conversant with names renowned in the history of the country, who belonged, not to noble families, but who founded noble families; springing, many of them, from the very class which I have now the honour of addressing. Does not this afford even greater encouragement than the prizes just distributed to all of you who have cultivated the talents with which nature has endowed you? Wealth is, to a certain extent, within the reach of all; but be assured of one thing—that even if you fail in gaining those summits of ambition which I have indicated, there is no greater source of private comfort, and of individual happiness, than the exercise of intellectual faculties, and the enjoyment of domestic affection. The exercise of the intellectual faculties, to which the exhibitors here show that they have devoted themselves, must make them happier men; must contribute to raise them, not only in their own estimation, but in the estimation of all who know them; and must lead to the noblest of all exercises, of all pleasures—the cultivation, improvement, and development of the human intellect. I may be told that the examples I have cited of men who attained great wealth or distinguished positions are few, while the competitors are many; and that to the bulk of those who struggle to arrive at such goals the effort must be hopeless. I would ask whether any of you have not gone, on a fine bright day in the beginning of summer, to that great seat of amusement, Epsom race-course, and seen horses run for that celebrated race, the Derby? Three or four hundred horses entered for the race, but only one won the prize. All the rest failed to obtain the object of their ambition. But those luckless horses that did not win the Derby, won other races. If they were good for anything, they all won something. And thus the training, the industry, the pains, and the expense of those who had fitted them for the competition in which they were to take part, were eventually repaid. And so I say to you—you are competitors for prizes. You may not all become generals or admirals; you may not all become lord chancellors or archbishops; you may not become members of the cabinet; but, depend upon it, you will, by systematic industry, raise yourselves in the social system of your country—you will acquire honour and respect for yourselves and for your families. You will have, too, the constant satisfaction of feeling that you have materially contributed to the dignity of your country, to its welfare, to its prosperity and greatness, and that you have been worthy of the nation to which you belong. I beg again to express the extreme pleasure I have derived from what I have witnessed to-day; and I trust that, hereafter, these Exhibitions may be even more successful than the present. Go on, ladies and gentlemen, and prosper; and depend upon it that the blessings which you will confer upon yourselves and your families will be proportioned to the industry you display, and to the cultivation which you give to those faculties—those noble faculties with which Providence has endowed you.”



On another occasion, when the scene was laid at Romsey, his own locality, the claims of which were never forgotten, or urged in vain upon his lordship, he said—

“Ladies and gentlemen,—I am proud of having been permitted to attend the opening of this interesting Exhibition; and not the less so because I appear before you in that which is generally considered not a very enviable position—namely, that of a false prophet. I am bound to confess that when our excellent vicar first communicated to me the intention of the town of Romsey to set on foot an Exhibition of this kind, I hastily, and not sufficiently estimating the energy of the people of Romsey, expressed an opinion, or rather an apprehension, that the project would fail. This magnificent display of works of art, and science, and industry, and the numerous assembly which I now have the honour of addressing, amply refute the expectations which I then expressed, and show that I am what I stated—in that respect, at least—a false prophet. But, unlike false prophets in general, I rejoice in the misconception under which I laboured, and the falsification of my prophecy; for nothing can be more gratifying than to see the results of the labour of those who have been charged with preparing this Exhibition. I may add, that I think, from those whom I now see assembled in this room, there is every reasonable prospect, that not only will those walls contain objects most worthy of admiration and of study, but will be filled by those who will be ready to admire and improve themselves by what they see. There can be no question that periodical displays of the works of genius tend not only to amuse but to improve and to cultivate our minds. They show those models of perfection which, more or less, other men may imitate, and, perhaps, may equal. This is not merely confined to Exhibitions of this sort. I remember, some years ago, making a tour through Holland, a country peopled by men who are industrious, persevering, and who neglect no opportunity of improving themselves and the country in which they live; and every town of any consideration that I passed through, had not merely a temporary Exhibition, but a permanent museum containing a collection of matters of general interest. Well, I am afraid that we cannot, in this little town of Romsey, aim at aspiring so high until there shall be some Romsey Hartley who will be kind enough to bequeath us a large legacy. I will venture to say, that if that should happen, the people of Romsey will not spend more than one-half of it in litigation before they are able to lay the first stone of a building in honour of the founder. It is most gratifying to see the results of the energy and diligence—the unconquerable diligence of those who have been charged with arranging and getting together this Exhibition. But among the objects of interest and admiration which this Exhibition brings before us, I must not forget to point out to you the proof it affords of the universal genius of our worthy vicar; for not only does he, as you all know, take especial and good care of your welfare in a future world, but you will see, in one of the compartments of this Exhibition, a most skilful arrangement for preserving the lives of men in this world from shipwreck and other accidents at sea. We people of Romsey—I am proud to call myself one, for I was born here close by—we people of Romsey have some reason to be satisfied with that which this town has produced in the way of human intellect. We have seen, in our abbey church, a monument to Sir William Petty—a man most distinguished in the history of the country—who was born in Romsey. Well, there was another instance of genius which I may be permitted to mention—namely, that among your townsmen of the present time there was a Mr. Lordan, who performed that which is a feat in literature. He printed a book which he had never written, but which he had composed; and as fast as he composed it, word for word, instead of writing it down in manuscript for future correction, as most authors do, he set to work and printed it off at once. Here we have the book now printed from the actual and immediate impulse of Mr. Lordan’s mind. As I have already said, it is not surprising that we here in Romsey should take pleasure in seeing the produce of modern history, skill, and genius, when we have here, in our town, to contemplate every day one of the most splendid monuments of the genius of times gone



by, in that venerable church, which, I may venture to say, has, all things considered, no rival—certainly no superior—in any part of the kingdom. I thank you for having been permitted to be present at the opening of this Exhibition; and I hope the room may, every day it is open, be as crowded as it is at the present moment.”

As a further illustration of Lord Palmerston's readiness to assist, as far as possible, what was worthy of assistance, take his laying the foundation-stone of the building for the enlargement of the Sailors' Home, in the neighbourhood of the London Docks, in August, 1863. The proceedings took place under a large tent, erected by Mr. John Edgington, of Smithfield Bars. From the address presented to Lord Palmerston by Admiral Bowles, we learn that the new building cost nearly £13,000; and that its object was to provide a home—combining security, freedom of action, and social enjoyment—for the sailor, on his return from a perilous voyage; and to promote his moral elevation and religious improvement. “As a proof that these objects have, in large measure, been accomplished, we beg to call your lordship's attention to the fact, that, since the opening of the institution, 139,180 seamen have availed themselves of the advantages it holds out; and such is the confidence inspired by its operations, that no less a sum than £1,110,980 has been received from these men, and directed into legitimate channels for their benefit.” His lordship replied as follows:—“I can assure you that I feel great pleasure, and I may say pride, in having been permitted to take a part in this most interesting ceremony. We are, by our insular position, necessarily a seafaring nation. All our interests, I may say our national independence, are connected with the skill, the enterprise, the daring courage of our seamen. It is needless to point out that, by the great extension which the principles of free trade have received of late years, our commercial intercourse with other nations, carried on in every ocean, has incredibly increased; and that we now are dependent upon our commerce for the maintenance of our national industry, for the subsistence of a great part of our population, and for the markets to which the produce of our manufactures is destined to go. If, then, nothing but commercial interests were concerned, it would be needless to point out how greatly the strength and prosperity of the country depend upon our seafaring population. But there are still higher considerations than that to point out their value, and how much they deserve encouragement from their fellow-countrymen. It is true that something near 30,000,000 of men could not be conquered by any invasion that might reach these shores. But, short of that, we might, if we lost the command of the seas, be blockaded by the cutting off of our foreign supplies, and, by the prevention of our export trade, be reduced to very distressing extremities; and therefore, in that point of view, we ought fully and highly to appreciate the value of our sailor fellow-men. Well, it is the result of their life to be separated in great measure from intercourse with their fellow-men on land, that they are peculiarly a simple-minded and a guileless set of men; but simple-minded and guileless men are too often, when they come into contact with them, the victims of men of different character. A sailor, when he comes to port, cannot go, probably, to the seat of his family—he cannot go to his friends and relations. He must remain in the port where he has landed; and in that port he is exposed to every temptation, and to the loss both of his money and his health. Well, these institutions tend to provide him with a home. It is said, indeed, that ‘his home is on the deep;’ but we provide him with a home on *terra firma*; and it is needless to point out how much his physical and moral interests are promoted by a reception such as he meets with in these institutions. They are, indeed, a part of those great social improvements which have been made in recent times; and I may truly say that among them few are more deserving of public encouragement, and few are more conducive to the real interests of the country. I, therefore, am glad—and I return thanks to those who gave me the invitation—I am glad to be present, and contribute to the foundation of an institution which will be attended with such great national advantages.”

His lordship then laid the stone with the usual honours. It bore the following inscription:—"This chief stone of the new building in extension of the Sailors' Home, was laid on the 4th day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1863, and in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of her most gracious majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, K.G."

About this time the Prince of Wales began to take an active part in public life. He had been carefully trained, and studied at Oxford and Cambridge universities. At the Curragh, in 1861, he had learnt something of camp life, and military duties. He had been called to the bar, and admitted as a bencher of the Middle Temple. In July, 1860, he had embarked at Plymouth, on board H.M.S. *Hero*, on a visit to Canada and the United States. The Duke of Newcastle, Colonial Secretary of State, accompanied the prince. At Quebec, where he arrived on the 18th, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm. In September, under the title of Baron Renfrew, he entered the United States, on his way to Washington to visit the president; and, in November, he returned, after having done much, by his manners and appearance, to sustain and create a friendly feeling, on the part of the colonists and the Americans, towards the mother country. In the royal family there was a talk of a wedding: the Princess Alice had a lover. There was to be gaiety and grand doings at Windsor; when suddenly there flashed through the land the sad news that Prince Albert was ill; and then that he was dead—dead, too, just as Christmas festivities had commenced. Every one felt stunned by the appalling calamity. A man whom we all knew and loved—who had done so much for us—whose presence was so familiar to us on all public occasions, or when an impulse to any noble work was required—the husband of our queen—the father of our princes—in the very prime of life, almost without a word of warning, carried off by death. No one could believe, that sad Sunday, that such was the case. "It cannot be true," was the universal hope. With what anxiety were Monday's papers greedily purchased! As much as 5s. were, in some cases, offered for the *Times*; and, as we walked in the streets, and saw the shops all partially closed, and heard the hum of conversation all round, one, alas! could not but feel that there was no deception in the matter; and that, indeed, Prince Albert was no more. All felt for the widowed queen, whose own mother had been seized by the King of Terrors not long before. People were actually merry when George the Magnificent was gathered to his fathers: there was decent sorrow for King William IV.: but, for Prince Albert the Good, as the *Athenæum* called him, there was lamentation deep and sincere in every English home.

The publication of the unfavourable bulletin on Saturday morning, coupled with the intelligence that the Prince of Wales had been summoned to the castle from Cambridge during midnight, spread dismay and astonishment throughout the country. Then, all at once, the fearful affliction which threatened her majesty was seen, and on every side information as to the state of his royal highness's health was sought for with the most intense eagerness. The announcement in the afternoon, that a change, slightly for the better, had taken place in the illustrious patient's condition, was welcomed as almost a relief from the state of feverish anxiety under which all had waited for news. Unhappily, this slight improvement proved to be but a precursor of the fatal issue. During Saturday morning—at least in the early part—his royal highness undoubtedly seemed better; and notwithstanding that his condition was in the highest degree precarious, the change, though sudden, was marked, and almost justified the strong hopes which were then entertained that he would recover. This change was but for a short time, and, in fact, but one of those expiring efforts of nature, which give delusive hopes to the mourners round so many death-beds. Soon afterwards his royal highness again relapsed; and, before the evening, it became evident that it was only a question of an hour, more or less. The prince sank with alarming rapidity. At four, the physicians issued a bulletin, stating that their patient was then in "a most critical



condition;" which was, indeed, a sad truth, for at that time almost every hope of recovery had passed away. Her majesty, and the Prince of Wales, the Princesses Alice and Helena, and the Prince and Princess of Leiningen, were with their illustrious relative during all this mournful and most trying period. The approach of death from exhaustion was so rapid that all stimulants failed to check the progressive increase of weakness; and the fatal termination was so clearly foreseen, that even before nine o'clock on Saturday evening, a telegram was forwarded from Windsor to the city, stating that the Prince Consort was then dying fast. Quietly, and without suffering, he continued slowly to sink—so slowly that the wrists were pulseless long before the last moment had arrived, when, at a few minutes before eleven, he ceased to breathe, and all was over. An hour after, and the solemn tones of the great bell of St. Paul's—a bell of evil omen—told all citizens how irreparable had been the loss of their beloved queen—how great the loss to the country.

The *Times* (from which we take the foregoing details) adds some particulars, which will also be read with deep interest.

"We believe," it says, "that the prince himself had for some days a melancholy conviction that his end was at hand. The recent death of his relative, the King of Portugal, from a similar disorder, is understood to have had an unfortunate influence upon him, and possibly assisted the progress of the malady. It is said that, as early as Wednesday morning, the prince expressed his belief that he should not recover. When the improvement took place on Saturday, it was agreed by the medical men, that if the patient could be carried over one more night, his life would, in all probability, be saved. But the sudden failure of vital power which occurred in the afternoon frustrated these hopes. Congestion of the lungs, the result of complete exhaustion, set in; the prince's breathing became continually shorter and feebler, and he expired without pain at a few minutes before eleven o'clock. He was sensible, and knew the queen to the last. The Duke of Cambridge and the following gentlemen connected with the Court were present—General Bruce, Sir Charles Phipps, General Grey, General Bentinck, Lord Alfred Paget, Major Du Plat, General Seymour, Colonel Elphinstone, and the Dean of Windsor.

"It must have cheered the last moments of the illustrious patient to see his wife and nearly all his children around his bed. The princess-royal, being at Berlin, was prevented by recent severe indisposition from travelling; and, indeed, the death of the prince followed too soon on the discovery of his danger for such a journey to have availed her. Prince Alfred was serving on board his ship on the other side of the Atlantic; but the Prince of Wales and the Princess Alice were by his side, together with several of the younger members of the family. Of the devotion and strength of mind shown by the Princess Alice all through these trying scenes it is impossible to speak too highly. Her royal highness has, indeed, felt that it was her place to be a comfort and support to her mother in this affliction; and to her dutiful care we may perhaps owe it that the queen has borne her loss with exemplary resignation, and a composure which, under so sudden and so terrible a bereavement, could not have been anticipated.

"This fact will, we are sure, give the greatest satisfaction to the country; and we may add that, after the death of the prince, the queen, when the first passionate burst of grief was over, called her children around her, and with a calmness which gives proof of great natural energy, addressed them in solemn and affectionate terms, which may be considered as indicating the intentions of a sovereign who feels that the interests of a great nation depend on her firmness. Her majesty declared to her family, that, though she felt crushed by the loss of one who had been her companion through life, she knew how much was expected of her; and she accordingly called on her children to give her their assistance, in order that she might do her duty to them and the country. That her majesty may have health and strength to fulfil these noble intentions, and that she may live

many years in placid cheerfulness and peace of mind, alleviating the recollection of her loss by sharing the happiness of her children, will be the earnest prayer of all her subjects."

In a large number of churches and chapels, on the Sunday after the mournful event, special reference was made to the subject, and special prayer was offered on behalf of the queen and the royal family. The Lord Chamberlain issued an order for "all persons" to "put themselves into decent mourning"—a request generally complied with. In Paris the mournful tidings of the death of the prince caused a profound sensation. The emperor despatched an aide-de-camp to her majesty, with an autograph letter expressive of his sorrow, and, we may presume, that of the empress, at the melancholy event, and offering suitable condolence. The King and Queen of Prussia, on receipt of the intelligence, paid a visit of condolence to the crown princess. The king also sent his aide-de-camp to Lord Loftus, to express his sympathy for the royal family of England. The Prussian Court went into mourning for four weeks.

The funeral of the prince was fixed for Monday, December the 23rd, between eleven and twelve in the forenoon, in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The "royal vault" in which the body of the prince was deposited, had not been opened, except for the funeral of the queen-dowager, since the death of William IV. Three gates close the entrance to this final resting-place of departed royalty, the keys of which are kept by the sovereign, the Lord Chamberlain, and the dean of the chapels royal. According to custom, the body was interred in four coffins, the inner one or shell being of polished mahogany cased outside with lead; then an outer plain, but very massive coffin of mahogany; over all comes the state coffin, or case, of crimson velvet, and with massive silver-gilt ornaments. On the leaden coffin was a silver plate, engraved with the style and titles of the deceased prince. The outer mahogany coffin simply bore a plate with his name and the date of his birth and death. On the state coffin was the customary silver-gilt plate, bearing an inscription similar to that on the leaden coffin.

The funeral was, in accordance, as it was understood, with the wishes of the deceased, very plain and quiet. In fact, the recent precedent set at the interment of the late Duchess of Kent was as closely followed as possible; and though, from the very large numbers of attached friends whom the prince had left to mourn his early loss, the funeral was necessarily on a scale of greater magnitude, it was not, as regards state, less strictly private. The Prince of Wales was, of course, the chief mourner. A few days after Prince Albert's decease, according to the custom observed on the decease of the kings of England, the body of his late royal highness was dressed in field-marshal's uniform, and placed in the shell, when, by command of her majesty, those of the royal household who might desire, were permitted to take a last farewell of their royal master; and in the evening the body was soldered down. On the leaden coffin is a massive silver plate, with the following inscription:—

"Depositum  
Illustrissimi et Celsissimi Alberti,  
Principis Consortis,  
Ducis Saxoniae,  
de Saxe-Coburg et Gotha Principis,  
Nobilissimi Ordinis Periscelidis Equitis,  
Augustissimæ et Potentissimæ Victorie Regine  
Conjugis percarissimi,  
Obiit die decimo quarto Decembris, MDCCCLXI.,  
Anno ætatis sue XLIII."

The following account of the last hours of Prince Albert appeared in a country paper—the *Northern Whig*. The editor, in introducing it, says—

"There has reached us, from abroad, a most interesting extract from a letter which was written by a member of the queen's household, shortly after the death of Prince Albert. The extremely confidential position which the writer held at



the time, not only gives the assurance of perfect reliability, but invests the following lines with a very special interest. After describing the griefs and fears of the whole household for the queen, the writer speaks of the personal loss sustained in the death of Prince Albert:—

“‘How I shall miss his conversation about the children! He used often to come into the school-room to speak about the education of the children, and he never left me without my feeling that he had strengthened my hands, and raised the standard I was aiming at. Nothing mean or frivolous could exist in the atmosphere that surrounded him; the conversation could not be trifling if he was in the room. I dread the return of spring for my dear lady. It was his favourite time of the year—the opening leaves, the early flowers, and fresh green were such a delight to him; and he so loved to point out their beauties to his children, that it will be terrible to see them without him. The children kept his table supplied with primroses, which he especially loved. The last Sunday he passed on earth was a very blessed one for the Princess Alice to look back upon. He was very ill and very weak, and she spent the afternoon alone with him, whilst the others were in church. He begged to have his sofa drawn to the window, that he might see the sky and the clouds sailing past. He then asked her to play to him, and she went through several of his favourite hymns and chorals. After she had played some time, she looked round and saw him lying back, his hands folded as if in prayer, and his eyes shut. He lay so long without moving that she thought he had fallen asleep. Presently he looked up and smiled. She said—‘Were you asleep, dear papa?’ ‘Oh no,’ he answered; ‘only I have such sweet thoughts.’

“‘During his illness his hands were often folded in prayer; and, when he did not speak, his serene face showed that the ‘happy thoughts’ were with him to the end. The Princess Alice’s fortitude has amazed us all. She saw from the first that both her father and mother’s firmness depended on her firmness, and she set herself to the duty. He loved to speak openly of his condition, and had many wishes to express. He loved to hear hymns and prayers. He could not speak to the queen of himself, for she could not bear to listen, and shut her eyes to the danger. His daughter saw that she must act differently, and she never let her voice falter, or shed a single tear in his presence. She sat by him; listened to all he said; repeated hymns; and then, when she could bear it no longer, would walk calmly to the door, and rush away to her room, returning soon with the same calm and pale face, without any appearance of the agitation she had gone through.

“‘I have had several interviews with the poor queen since. The first time she said—‘You can feel for me, for you have gone through this trial.’ Another time she said how strange it seemed, when she looked back, to see how much, for the last six months, the prince’s mind had dwelt upon death and the future state; their conversation had so often turned upon these subjects, and they had read together a book called *Heaven our Home*, which had interested him very much. He once said to her—‘We don’t know in what state we shall meet again; but that we shall recognise each other, and be together in eternity, I am perfectly certain.’ It seemed as if it had been intended to prepare her mind, and comfort her; though, of course, it did not strike her then. She said she was a wonder to herself, and she was sure it was in answer to the prayers of her people that she was so sustained. She feared it would not last, and that times of agony were before her. She said—‘There’s not the bitterness in this trial that I felt when I lost my mother; I was so rebellious then; but now I can see the mercy and love that are mixed in my trial.’ Her whole thought is now to walk worthy of him; and her greatest comfort to think that his spirit is always near her, and knows all that she is doing.’”

In taking leave of this mournful part of our history, we can only add that Prince Albert’s memorials are numerous in all our chief towns and cities; and that, while we write, the papers contain an account of a statue being erected at Wolverhampton, and of the queen assisting at its unveiling.

In some cases these memorials took a form and shape more in accordance with

the wants of society and the spirit of the age. Utility was not lost sight of. It was felt desirable, that whilst the memory of a prince, exceptionally good and great, should be preserved, at the same time the memorial should be associated with something of permanent benefit, such as better accommodation for the poor, drinking fountains, &c. In Suffolk, for instance, the people of that county did a very wise thing. Not only did they erect a monument to "Albert the Good," consonant with the character of that beloved prince, but provided an institution calculated to confer signal advantages on the middle-class population of the county through all time. Nothing is more needed in the rural districts than efficient middle-class education at a reasonable price—that is, a price which can be paid by farmers, whose profits, it is generally acknowledged, do not exceed 10 per cent. Suffolk has supplied her need. By the strenuous efforts of the county magnates and others, there now stands at Framlingham the Albert College, wherein the son of any middle-class man may receive a sound practical education for the sum of £25 per annum, inclusive of lodging, board, and washing. The building, which is of noble proportions, constructed to contain 300 boys, cost £20,000, the greater part of which was raised in the county. It opened the first term with 270 boys. The founders have proposed to themselves, in establishing this school, "to furnish to the middle classes in Suffolk the means of obtaining such an education for their sons, as shall place them, for all practical purposes, in such a position with the upper and lower classes as will fit them for the society in which it will be their lot to live." Amongst the subjects of instruction Greek figures as an *extra*. These subjects are divided into, first, those taught to all; second, those taught only by the desire of parents. Religious instruction, according to the wishes of parents; instruction in the elements of an English education, reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic, grammar and composition, history and geography, is given to all without distinction. Parents are requested to inform the head master, the Rev. Albert Daymond, whether they wish their sons to be taught Latin, French, German, mathematics, drawing, land-surveying, the elements of natural science, agricultural chemistry, &c. We have received most satisfactory testimony as to the success of this school. The examiner reports well of the tone of morals and the quality of instruction; Mr. Daymond speaks favourably of the masters associated with him, and the material he has to mould. This is an example England could well afford to see repeated until every county was furnished with similar educational apparatus: and we are sure that no way of preserving his memory could have been more acceptable to the prince.

On the 1st of July, 1862, another royal wedding took place. The Princess Alice was married to Prince Frederick William, eldest son of the brother of the Grand Duke of Hesse. As it was thought the marriage was one of affection, the nation participated in the event, and wished the young couple joy.

In 1862, the Prince of Wales had the pleasure of a trip to the Holy Land. The journey had been long in contemplation, and formed part of the admirable plan of education devised by the late prince, his father. It was deeply cherished to the last days of his life, and even, it is believed, recommended with his failing breath. In deference to this wish, the journey of the Prince of Wales was at length undertaken at a time when his presence could ill be spared in the palace, and when the prospect of the Great Exhibition seemed almost to depend on his taking the place of the late Prince Consort. On the 6th of February, the prince left Osborne for London; and embarked the same evening at Dover, where the royal yacht, *Osborne*, was appointed to be in waiting to convey his royal highness and suite to Alexandria. The prince travelled *incognito* as Baron Renfrew. His suite consisted of Major-General Bruce, the Hon. H. Meade, Dr. Minter, physician; Colonel Keppel, and Major Teesdale, equerries; and lastly, the Rev. Dr. Stanley, the accomplished historian of the land about to be visited. His royal highness landed at Alexandria on the 1st of March. On the 4th, he left Cairo for the purpose of visiting the Pyramids, and the wonders of Upper Egypt. The prince then returned to Cairo,



and re-embarked for Jaffa. On receiving tidings of the prince's approach, the Pasha of Jerusalem went forth to meet him on the Jaffa road; and, in his company, the little English party performed the last stage of its journey, preceded and followed by a numerous and picturesque escort of Turkish horsemen. The welcome offered to the prince by these accomplished cavaliers was according to the picturesque custom of the East. He visited Damascus, the Dead Sea, Bethlehem; and, on April the 7th, came the excursion to Hebron, which will, undoubtedly, long be regarded as the most memorable event of the prince's pilgrimage. Never before had an unbeliever been permitted by the Turks to visit the tombs of the patriarchs; and the Pasha of Jerusalem did all he could to dissuade the prince from the dangerous attempt. At length, finding all remonstrance useless, he accompanied the prince. The little place was taken possession of by the military; guards were stationed in every spot where it was possible some fanatical Moslem might attempt to avenge the intrusion. Happily no mischief was attempted; and, after visiting all the chief cities in Syria, Rhodes, and Patmos, the homeward route was taken through the well-known scenes of Smyrna, Constantinople, Athens, Malta, &c. On the 14th of June, his royal highness reached Windsor Castle.

When parliament met, on February 6th, 1863, there was, in the speech from the throne, the announcement of another royal marriage. It appeared one of the fairest of princesses had consented to a marriage with the Prince of Wales. The parliament was opened by commission. His royal highness the Prince of Wales, Duke of Saxony, Duke of Cornwall and Rothsay, Earl of Carrick, Earl of Dublin, Baron Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, having been created Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, was, in his parliamentary robes, and wearing the collar of the Order of the Garter, and of the Star of India, introduced in the following order:—

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.

Garter King-of-Arms,  
Bearing His Royal Highness's Patent of  
Creation.

The Lord Kingsdown.  
The Earl of Derby, K.G.

Lord Chamberlain of the Household.

Lord Steward of the Household.

Deputy Earl Marshal.

The Lord Great Chamberlain.

Lord Privy Seal.

Lord President of the Council.

The Coronet of the Prince,

On a crimson velvet cushion, borne by the Hon. H. Meade,  
one of the Gentlemen of His Royal Highness's Household.

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES,

Carrying his Writ of Summons; supported by

The Duke of Newcastle, K.G.,  
in his robes.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G.,  
in his robes.

Attended by

The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.

The Earl Spencer.

All in their robes.

And proceeded from the bar up the House, with the usual reverences. The writ and patent were then delivered to the Lord Chancellor on the woolsack. His royal highness then proceeded, with his supporters, to the table, the rest of the procession standing near. The letters patent and writ were read by the clerk of the parliament at the table, where his royal highness took and subscribed the oath. After which the prince was conducted to his chair, on the right hand of the throne; and his royal highness being covered as usual, the ceremony was concluded, and he received the congratulations of the Chancellor.

The royal speech was then read. The first paragraph was as follows:—"Her majesty commands us to inform you, that since you were last assembled, she has declared her consent to a marriage between his royal highness the Prince of Wales, and her royal highness the Princess Alexandra, daughter of Prince

Christian of Denmark; and her majesty has concluded thereupon a treaty with the King of Denmark, which will be laid before you."

This paragraph of the queen's speech gave universal satisfaction. In the House of Commons, in proposing resolutions for providing an establishment for the Prince and Princess of Wales, Lord Palmerston said—"In doing so, I would remind the House of the happiness in which we live under a constitutional monarchy. The people of this country not only are now, more than at any former period, sensible of the blessings which that form of government confers, but they have also an opportunity of appreciating its value by contrasting it with events which are passing in other parts of the world. We see, in the East, some of the evils which are incident to arbitrary sway. We witness, in the West, the widespread misery and desolation which are sometimes created by democratic and republican institutions. We enjoy a happy medium between the extremes of these two forms of government. Our institutions not only confer happiness and tranquillity upon the people of these realms, but enable them to enjoy the most perfect freedom of thought, of speech, of writing, and of action, undirected and uncontrolled by the edicts of despotic authority, or by the Lynch law of an ungovernable mob. Well, sir, I trust that the people of this nation will long continue to enjoy these advantages, and that their hearts will be turned to the Almighty Dispenser of events with thankfulness—with reverential thankfulness—for the lot which has been thus assigned them; and I am persuaded that their bosoms will be full of the most affectionate attachment towards that sovereign and family under whose mild and beneficent sway, humanly speaking, those blessings have been conferred. Sir, there are occasions, in the course of human affairs, in which events that are matters of joy and rejoicing, produce pleasure that begins and ends with the occasion on which it arises; but there are other occasions where joyful events link and connect the present with the future, when the happiness which mankind enjoys at the moment, is an earnest and security for happiness for the future. Such an occasion is the present, when the heir-apparent to the crown is going to contract a marriage which will, I trust, not only be productive of domestic happiness to the family in the midst of which it is to be celebrated, but holds out to this country a prospect of a long line of succeeding sovereigns, who, by virtue of transmitted qualities, and of the recollection of those who went before them, will imitate the virtues of the stock from whence they spring, and will contribute, as much as the present family do, to the happiness, the welfare, and the dignity of the country over which they rule."

In referring to the sum to be asked from parliament for the prince and princess, Lord Palmerston continued—

"The Prince of Wales, in 1745, and the Prince of Wales at an earlier period, in 1715, had each of them a net income of £100,000 a year—in one case in addition to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall. It is not quite clear, from the words made use of, whether, in both cases, that income was in addition to the £100,000. I rather infer that it was. Now, everybody is aware what a great change has taken place in the value of money since either of those remote periods, and how little a sum of the same nominal amount represents, in the present day, the command of things which it did either in 1745 or 1715. Coming down to a later period, when, in 1795, Mr. Pitt proposed, and the House assented to an establishment for the then Prince and Princess of Wales, the arrangement was not a simple one, because it was complicated by the payment of the large debts due at that time by her royal highness the then Princess of Wales. But the total amount of allowance that was granted, including that portion which was set aside for the liquidation of the prince's debts, was £138,000, charged partly upon the civil list, and partly upon the consolidated fund; and although, for a certain number of years, the appropriation of a large portion of the amount to the payment of debts, reduced the available income of the then Prince of Wales to something, I believe, between £60,000 and £70,000, yet I apprehend that, about the year 1806, the debts



having been discharged, the Prince of Wales entered into the receipt of £138,000. Now, it is not the intention of her majesty's government, nor is it the desire of her majesty, that the present appropriation by parliament should be founded upon what was then proposed for the Prince of Wales. His royal highness is in the receipt of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall; and, to the honour of her majesty, and of the Prince Consort, be it said, that whereas, in former reigns it was understood, and the practice was, that during the minority of the Prince of Wales the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall were added to the available revenues of the crown, in the present reign those revenues have been carefully and studiously set apart, to accumulate for the benefit of the Prince of Wales, till he became of age. The funds thus accumulated are very considerable. Part of them have been invested in the purchase of a landed estate in the county of Norfolk, which cost, I believe, about £220,000, the nominal rental being £7,000 a year; but it may be, there will be deductions, as honourable gentlemen will well understand, and there may not be more than £5,000 available income. Part of these accumulations must be set aside for the outfit of the Prince of Wales; and part also will be required for the purpose of building, upon the Norfolk estate, a mansion more suitable than the present one to the dignity and station of its new occupants. Making these deductions, the details of which I will not trouble the House to go into, the probable income of the Norfolk estate, together with the income arising from the investment I have mentioned, and from the remaining accumulations, may be taken, in round numbers, at about £60,000 a year. Well, we think that a sum of £100,000 a year would not be disproportionate to those expenses which must fall upon a person in the exalted position of his royal highness the Prince of Wales; and I shall, therefore, have to propose to the House to grant £40,000 a year, out of the consolidated fund, for the establishment of the Prince of Wales. Such of those whom I am now addressing, and who, fortunately for them, are not in the single, and bachelor state, well know that there are expenses which the Princess of Wales must incur, and which require that she should have a separate and sufficient income; and, by the treaty of marriage recently concluded between her majesty and the King of Denmark, the allowance undertaken to be secured to her royal highness, was £10,000 a year for her own separate use. The grant, therefore, which to-night I shall have to ask of the committee, will be one of £50,000 a year—namely, £40,000 for the aggregate establishment, and £10,000 for the separate use of the princess."

Provision was also made for the princess in case her husband should die. Lord Palmerston said—"In the case of the Princess of Wales, the wife of George IV., the jointure was fixed at £50,000. We do not propose, in the present instance, that it should be so high an amount. We think that £30,000 a year will be a sufficient amount; and, therefore, although the allowance to the late Princess of Wales, during the joint lives of herself and husband, was less than the amount stipulated for the present princess; yet, putting one thing against the other, though the present allowance is greater—and I think not greater than it ought to be—the jointure will nevertheless be reduced to the amount I have named."

On March the 6th, the Princess Alexandra of Denmark arrived at the Nore; and, on the 7th, landed at Greenwich, where she was received with every demonstration of delight. The Prince of Wales met her there; and the corporation and inhabitants presented an address to each. They came to the Bricklayers' Arms station by rail, and thence proceeded in an open carriage, with a large suite of attendants, through a continued crowd of welcoming spectators. At London Bridge, where a triumphal arch had been erected, they were met by the city corporation in state, who preceded the procession, which had literally to force its way through the immense crowd which flocked to meet them. Almost every house was adorned with banners or devices. At length the procession reached Temple Bar. Here, disencumbered of the civic pomp, a quicker progress was made; and through applauding multitudes the royal carriages passed along the Strand,

and by Hyde Park, which was lined with volunteers, and, arriving at the Great Western station (which, like that of the Bricklayers' Arms, was richly decorated), proceeded thence by rail to Windsor. The only drawback to the general joy was, that, through mismanagement, the crowd in the city had been so dense that several persons lost their lives. However, all were charmed with the beauty of the young princess, and gave her a reception such as must have compensated for the abandonment of her northern home.

On the 10th the marriage of the prince and princess took place at Windsor, which they left in the afternoon for Osborne, receiving at Southampton addresses from the inhabitants and corporation of that ancient and loyal borough. The wedding was celebrated with the requisite pomp; and the widowed queen, from a private nook, surveyed the whole. The enthusiasm in favour of the young and beautiful "Daughter of the Isles" was intense. The event was celebrated by illuminations and festivities in every town, and almost every village, in the United Kingdom. Unfortunately, in the city of London lives were again lost, through the pressure of the crowds. These accidents led, in parliament, to several discussions on the city police, and were quoted as an argument in favour of placing them under the care of the Home Office. The fact was, that just at that time there was an interregnum—the city police force had but recently lost its efficient and experienced head.

Neyer did our poet-laureate indite a warmer welcome than on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess of Denmark.

"Sea-king's daughter from over the sea,  
Alexandra!

Saxon and Norman, and Dane are we;  
But all of us Danes in our welcome of thee,  
Alexandra!

Welcome her, thunders of fort and of fleet;  
Welcome her, thundering cheer of the street;  
Scatter the blossom under her feet!  
Break, happy land, into earlier flowers!  
Make music, O bird, in the new-budded bowers!  
Welcome her, welcome her, all that is ours!  
Warble, O bugle, and trumpet blare!  
Flags, flutter out upon turrets and towers!  
Flames, on the windy head-land flare!  
Utter your jubilee, steeple and spire!  
Clash, ye bells, in the merry March air!  
Flash, ye cities, in rivers of fire!  
Welcome her, welcome the land's desire,  
Alexandra!

"Sea-king's daughter, as happy as fair,  
Blissful bride of a blissful heir;  
Bride of the heir of the kings of the sea;  
O joy to the people, and joy to the throne!  
Come to us, love us, and make us your own:  
For Saxon, or Dane, or Norman, we,  
Teuton, or Celt, or whatever we be,  
We are each *all Dane* in our welcome of thee,  
Alexandra!"

On the first anniversary of the marriage of his royal highness the Prince of Wales with the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, their infant son was admitted, by baptism, into the Christian church.

At one o'clock, all the visitors (Lord Palmerston was one of them) being seated, her majesty the queen—attended by the Duchess of Wellington, Mistress of the Robes; the Lady Churchill, Lady in Waiting; the Hon. Mrs. Robert Bruce, Bedchamber Woman; and by the Lord De Tabley, and Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Bentinck, K.C.B., the Lord and Groom in Waiting—took her place in the seat prepared for her as one of the sponsors. The other sponsors for his royal highness the infant prince, were then conducted to their places in the chapel.



Their royal highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the other members of the royal family not being sponsors, met in the visitors' drawing-room; and were thence conducted by the Lord Chamberlain to the bow room, where her majesty's household, and others taking part in the royal procession, had previously assembled.

The royal personages having been conducted to their seats, and the great officers and other attendants having their appointed places on either side of the chapel, the service commenced with the performance of sacred music.

The Archbishop of Canterbury having asked, in accordance with the terms of the Rubric, "Hath this child been already baptized or no?" and received an answer that it had not, proceeded with the service, until he came to the prayer—"Almighty, ever-living God," &c. The Countess of Macclesfield then gave the infant prince to the queen, who handed his royal highness to the primate. His grace, having taken the child in his arms, said to the godfathers and godmothers—"Name this child."

Her majesty the queen then said, in a clear voice—

"ALBERT VICTOR."

The archbishop then poured water on the child's face, and made the sign of the cross upon his forehead, saying—"Albert Victor, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

His grace then handed back the newly-baptized infant to the queen; and then said—"We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross, in token that, hereafter, he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under His banner against sin, the world, and the devil; and to continue Christ's faithful soldier and servant unto his life's end." The other portions of the service having been read, the archbishop, turning to the sponsors, said—"Ye are to take care that this child be brought to the bishop, to be confirmed by him as soon as he can say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue; and be further instructed in the church catechism set forth for that purpose."

The ceremonial concluded with the performance of sacred music.

In June, the prince appeared in public, at the inauguration of the Great Exhibition memorial to Prince Albert, in the Horticultural Gardens. The queen had privately inspected the work on a previous day. Originally intended as a memorial of the Great Exhibition of 1851, it was converted into one of the prince by having his statue placed on the summit, and by the inscription on its sides. It is a commonplace mixture of allegory and reality. In July, the Prince of Wales laid the foundation-stone of the Warehousemen and Clerks' Orphan Asylum, at Caterham; and ever since, it must be said of his royal highness, that he has always been ready to assist, by the attraction of his presence, when possible, every good work. Nor has the princess been behind in such matters; and her presence has been a greater attraction than that of her lord.

Let us add, that while the widowed queen indulged her grief in retirement, and rarely appeared in public ceremonials, in all the events of the time which aroused popular sympathy, she was ready to take a practical interest. There was a terrible calamity, known as the Hartley colliery explosion—one of the saddest casualties ever recorded in the north of England. In the midst of her grief, the queen was not slow to feel for the grief of the many women made widows by that mournful event. On another occasion, when a poor woman lost her life at Aston Park, Birmingham, on the occasion of a popular *fête* there, in one of those sensational performances which had become the fashion of the day, her majesty commanded the following letter to be sent to the mayor of Birmingham. It was dated, "Osborne, July 25th, 1863."

"Sir,—The queen has commanded me to express to you the pain with which her majesty has read the account of a fatal accident which has occurred during a *fête* at Aston Park, Birmingham. Her majesty cannot refrain from making known, through you, her personal feelings of horror that one of her subjects—a female—should have been sacrificed to the gratification of the demoralising taste, unfortunately prevalent, for exhibitions attended with the greatest danger to the performers. Were any proof wanting that such exhibitions are demoralising, I am commanded to remark that it would be at once found in the decision arrived at to continue the festivities, the hilarity, and the sports of the occasion after an event so melancholy. The queen trusts that you, in common with the rest of the townspeople of Birmingham, will use your influence to prevent in future the degradation to such exhibitions of the park which was gladly opened by her majesty and the beloved Prince Consort, in the hope that it would be made serviceable for the healthy exercise and rational recreation of the people."

On another occasion, when the public had been alarmed and horrified by the increasing number of railway accidents, there came from Osborne, again, a cry on behalf of her people, from the widowed queen. In 1864, at a meeting, at Manchester, of the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire Railway, the chairman (Mr. Watkin, M.P.) said that her majesty the queen had written to some of the railways centred in London, as follows:—"Sir Charles Phipps has received the commands of her majesty the queen to call the attention of the directors of the — to the increasing number of accidents which have lately occurred upon different lines of railroad, and to express her majesty's warmest hope that the directors of the — will carefully consider every means of guarding against these misfortunes, which are not at all necessary accompaniments of railway travelling. It is not for her own safety that the queen has wished to provide in thus calling the attention of the company to the late disasters. Her majesty is aware that when she travels extraordinary precautions are taken; but it is on account of her family, of those travelling upon her service, and of her people generally, that she expresses the hope that the same security may be ensured for all as is so carefully provided for herself. The queen hopes it is unnecessary for her to recall to the recollection of the railway directors the heavy responsibility which they have assumed since they have succeeded in securing the monopoly of the means of travelling of almost the entire population of the country." And thus the queen, though in retirement, and deprived of the husband of her brighter and happier hours, was still as much as ever alive to the public weal. In other respects her conduct has been equally worthy of praise. The principle of hereditary succession has been put to a severe test in England; for we have had few kings fit for their station, or who have failed to furnish arguments against the system which, at first sight, seems so monstrous and absurd. As a writer in a daily paper has well remarked—"It has pleased God, at the present time, to bless the nation with a ruler who, for nearly thirty years, has fulfilled her high office with a constant sense of solemn responsibilities. For nearly thirty years Victoria has stood in the full gaze of her people; and nobody has been able to allege one single instance of the misuse of her power. Who among us would have stood an equally severe test? Is there any other public person in the realm to whom a similar tribute of praise could be given without sycophancy? We may, for reasons which we have recently stated with unqualified frankness, desire to learn that time has been permitted to fulfil its office in assuaging grief, and to see the royal countenance once more lending its general encouragement to our social life; but a great debt of national obligation must be cancelled before we join in accusing Queen Victoria of neglecting duty." We all feel, in the language of Mr. Bright, on a memorable occasion, "that the woman, be she queen of a great realm, or be she the wife of one of your labouring men, who can keep alive in her heart a great sorrow for the lost object of her love and affection, is not likely—is not the most likely—is not at all likely—to be wanting in a kind and generous sympathy for you."



## CHAPTER XX.

## CHIEFLY ECCLESIASTICAL.

ONE morning, in May, 1851, Lord Palmerston received a singular visitor. The stranger wore sandals; on his breast was the badge of a monkish order; and his garb altogether was curious and suggestive. The visitor was the Hon. Mr. Spencer, better known as Father Ignatius. He thus describes his visit:—

“It will not be foreign to my purpose to relate how my acquaintance with his lordship had been formed. May I venture to call it a friendship? It was at the close of a long run with Lord Derby’s staghounds—I mean the grandfather of the present Earl—I think, in 1821; we finished, I think, twenty-four miles from London; and I was making up my mind for a long, tedious ride home, on my tired horse (for I was not up to having second horses and grooms in my suite on these occasions), when Lord Palmerston, who was likewise in at, not the death, but the taking (I forget the proper sporting term), of the stag, understanding my case, and knowing me by sight—though, I think, till then we had never spoken—gave my horse in charge to his groom, and took me home with himself in a post-chaise. For the short remaining time of my being known as a young man about town, as we met at one party or another, Lord Palmerston continued to accost me with a kind word, to which I had good reason, it will be allowed, to respond in the best manner I knew how. At the close of the London season of 1822, I made my bow and withdrew from that stage, to prepare for taking orders; and, except an interview of a few moments in 1834, we had never met till I appeared before the now far-famed, and, by many, dreaded Foreign Secretary, with my parsonish habit and sandalled feet, for a private audience. \* \* \* \* On entering his private room, I found him engaged in looking over what seemed official papers, which he had upon his knee while he spoke, though without the least sign of impatience or wish to get rid of me; but I saw that what became me at once was to enter on business, without waste of time or words. \* \* \* \* I think I began without any kind of apology, for his lordship’s look gave me no feeling that any was needed or expected. I said—‘That in coming to speak to his lordship on this subject, I had not so much to ascertain more and more that there was no danger of what I proposed causing offence to our government, as I thought what I had heard from others was sufficient proof of this; but I wished to put as many of our public men as I could meet with in possession of all our intentions and proceedings, in order that, if at last I succeeded in moving the Catholics to be interested about them, and these matters came before the public, they might know from myself in person what I really intended; and might be enabled, if they thought fit, to do me justice.’ This was the substance of what I said to him. Having thus concluded, I awaited his answer, which was about as follows:—‘As you wish to know what I think of your doings, I must say I do not by any means agree with you in considering it a desirable result that this country should again be brought under subjection to Rome. I do not profess to take my view from the elevated and sublime ground on which you place yourself. I mean, I speak not with reference to religious interests, but to political; and, as a politician, when we consider the way in which the pope’s government is opposed to the progress of liberty and liberal institutions, I cannot say that I wish to see England again under such influence.’ Thus far I do not mean to say that what I heard was anything agreeable to me. Neither the matter nor the tone were agreeable to me. There was something sarcastic in his tone. \* \* \* \* ‘But, as to what you are doing, as it must tend to conciliate Catholic powers towards England, what have I to say but that it is excellent?’—or some such word, expressing full and

cordial approbation. After this he went on with some remarks on the establishment of the hierarchy, which, of course, were in accordance with what he had, I think, been saying a few days previously in parliament, complaining of it as offensive and injurious; but on this part of the conversation I need not dwell, as it had no bearing on the subject which I had proposed to him. With regard to that, my impression was that he had listened with attention to what I had said; had at once perfectly understood me; had answered me so as to make me perfectly understand him on the subject, simply and openly; and that what he had said was entirely satisfactory to me. I could wish for nothing more, except, of course, what St. Paul wished for in the presence of Festus and Agrippa. I then rose; so did he; then shook hands with me, and most cordially thanked me for having renewed our old acquaintance."

Lord Palmerston easily got rid of his ecclesiastical visitor, with whom he had little trouble. His was not a nature to vex itself much with the doubts and embarrassments of tender consciences; but, as Prime Minister, he had much to do with church matters; and he was singularly fortunate in having what, in worldly language, might be considered an unusual quantity of good things to give away. As his patronage was chiefly extended to what is called the Evangelical or low church party, its organ was in a state of intense delight; and on one occasion so far forgot itself as to hint something about his lordship being the man of God—an insinuation which, in profane circles, when it was remembered that Lord Palmerston was the Cupid of the Georgian era, gave considerable amusement.

At this time the state of the church of England was peculiarly unsatisfactory. The nation had outgrown the establishment; and the spectacle of its ministers quarrelling among themselves, and yet all signing the same articles, for the sake of paltry emoluments and position in society, was not pleasant to men of thoughtful minds. The intellectual and high-spirited of the young preferred anything rather than enter the church; and the bishops were compelled to confess that, year by year, they had a lower class of candidates to examine and ordain. It was not easy to see how it could be otherwise; and it was clear that Lord Palmerston was far too wise and wary to intrude into the field of controversy. He left churchmen to fight their own battles, confining himself chiefly to sympathy with popular rather than high-church notions; and believing—or we have been strangely misinformed—that, as regards a sermon, the chief element of beauty in it was its brevity. The church of England was divided then, as now, chiefly into three great parties—high church, low church, and broad church. Dr. Döllinger, a competent and an impartial, because a Roman Catholic witness, thus describes them.

After referring to the rise of the low church, or Evangelical party, he says—"Its favourite doctrine, and most effective instrument, is the dogma of 'justification by imputation,' which is so popular in England and America; and, when proclaimed with fluent oratory, fills both churches and chapels. This party is most deficient in university culture; and there is no question of theological science among its adherents; their literature consists, almost exclusively, of sermons and writings 'for edification;' they also occupy themselves and their hearers much with apocalyptic and millennarian theories and prophecies; with the approaching fall of 'the man of sin,' and 'the beast;' or with the discovery of the ten lost tribes, and so forth. A narrow understanding, a defective education, and an unacquaintance with the world, are, according to Arnold's definition, the signs of an Evangelical; internally, the Evangelicals stand in nearer relationship to the dissenters—Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists—than to the high church, whom they cordially hate.

"The true Anglican, or high churchmen, take a middle position between the Evangelicals and the Tractarians. They reject, as a rule, the Protestant doctrine of justification, and the Calvinistic degradation of baptism to a ceremony. They value the professed apostolic succession of the Anglican episcopacy; they maintain the existence of a church endowed with doctrinal authority: but they defend



themselves against every logical conclusion that must be drawn from such premises. \* \* \* \* They are really the best sons, and truest representatives of this church, and are most content with its existing state; and since, also, they are by no means exacting in their claims on the Christian lives of their congregations, they are much in favour with those classes who give the tone to society. \* \* \* As these Anglicans formerly found the continual profanation of the Lord's Supper, in consequence of the Test Act, to be quite a matter of course, so they now feel no repugnance at the burial service; and the clergy of the established church, Evangelicals and high churchmen, are certainly the only clergy in the world who give every deceased person to the grave, let him be even a Catholic or a dissenter, in the sure and certain hope of a blessed resurrection. There can hardly be a more distinct declaration, that after all, belonging to the church, taking part in her services, and using her means of salvation, can be a matter of no consequence."

Out of this party have grown the Tractarians, or Puseyites, or, as we should now call them, the Ritualists, which, if Dr. Newman be an authority, commenced their operations in Oxford in 1833, when Mr. Keble preached his sermon on national apostasy. In his *Apologia Pro sua Vita*, Dr. Newman sketches the rise and progress of his religious life. We refer to it here as forming part of the religious history of the time.

This work was another illustration of the old truth—What dire offence from little causes spring! A few words spoken by Professor Kingsley led to a correspondence which resulted in the composition of this masterly and interesting volume. Professor Kingsley charged Dr. Newman with being either a liar or a fool. The insinuation was uttered in the course of lecturing or speaking, and in the careless way in which men of one persuasion generally speak of men of another persuasion. Dr. Newman seized the opportunity to set himself right with people who have utterly misunderstood him. In order to do this, he writes a history of his religious life, and of the causes which led him to abandon the church of England for that of Rome. This leads him to annihilate the Rev. Charles Kingsley, and, in language of exquisite beauty, to vindicate the honour and integrity of his own career. This book is a history of the rise and fall of Tractarianism. It shows where it was found, and to what it leads. We are much mistaken if it will not occupy a place, as a text-book, in certain circles. "I was," says Dr. Newman, "brought up, from a child, to take great delight in reading the Bible; but I had no formed religious convictions till I was fifteen. Of course, I had perfect knowledge of my catechism." Even then Dr. Newman was very superstitious, and used to cross himself on going into the dark. At fifteen he became converted. Romaine, Thomas Scott, and Dr. Wilson (afterwards Bishop of Calcutta), much influenced him at that period of his life. Law's *Serious Call* also much impressed him. From Joseph Milner he learned to love the Fathers; and from Bishop Newton he learned that the pope was the antichrist predicted by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. Perhaps, with the exception of the preference for a life of celibacy, and of an undue leaning to the church catechism, there was not much here to induce the most far-sighted Roman Catholic to imagine that young Newman would, in time, become one of the most zealous champions and noblest trophies of his church. Still less could this have been anticipated when he went to Oxford in 1822, and became attached to Mr. Whately, the late Archbishop of Dublin.

It seems to us that we have now reached the point when Dr. Newman's career as a Protestant was at its height. Henceforth, the steps taken—though taught by Protestant divines—all helped him on his way to Rome. Dr. Sumner, then Archbishop of Canterbury, taught him to give up Calvinism, and to receive the doctrine of baptismal regeneration; and of Dr. Hawkins, the present provost of Oriel, he learned the doctrine of "tradition"—viz., that Scripture was never intended to teach doctrine; and that, if we would learn it, we must have recourse to the formularies of the church: for instance, to the catechism and the creeds. About this time, also, Mr. Newman embraced the doctrine of apostolical succes-

sion; and learned, from Bishop Butler's *Analogy*, not merely the truth of a visible church, and the historical character of revelation, but the doctrine of probability and the sacramental system—the doctrine that material phenomena are both the types and the instruments of real things unseen. Dr. Whately taught Mr. Newman the existence of the church as a substantive body or corporation, and fixed in him “those anti-Erastian views of the church polity, which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian movement.” This movement was now to be originated. In 1827, Keble published his *Christian Year*. In 1826, Newman met with Howell Froude. He professed openly his admiration of the church of Rome, and his hatred of the Reformers. “He fixed deep in me,” writes Dr. Newman, “the idea of devotion to the Blessed Virgin; and he gradually led me to believe in the Real Presence.” About this time, Bishop Bull made it clear to our author, that antiquity was the true exponent of Christianity, and the basis of the church of England. In writing his history of *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, Dr. Newman got his doctrine of angels, whom he considers as carrying out the economy of the visible world. At this time great events were happening. The Reform Bill had been carried; and Liberal principles were gaining the upper hand. The church was in danger; and Dr. Newman felt that Reformation principles were powerless to rescue her. Dr. Newman, of course, hates Liberalism with a perfect hatred. “It was the success of the Liberal cause which fretted me inwardly. I became fierce against its instruments and its manifestations. A French vessel was at Algiers: I would not even look at the tricolour. On my return, though forced to stop a day at Paris, I kept in-doors the whole time; and all that I saw of that beautiful city was what I saw from the top of a diligence. The Bishop of London had already sounded me as to my filling one of the Whitehall preacherhips, which he had just then put on a new footing; but I was indignant at the line he was taking, and from my steamer I had sent home a letter declining the appointment.” The times were out of joint. Something had to be done. Dr. Newman began to think he had a mission. Immediately on his return, “Mr. Keble preached the assize sermon in the university pulpit. It was published under the title of the *National Apostasy*. I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833.” Mr. Newman found that a movement had commenced in opposition to the specific danger which, at that time, was threatening the religion of the nation and its church. Several zealous and able men had united their counsels, and were in correspondence with each other. The principal of these were Mr. Keble, Howell Froude, Mr. William Palmer, of Dublin and Worcester College; Mr. Arthur Percival, and Mr. Hugh Rose. The latter had, in 1832, commenced *The British Magazine*, in order to unite churchmen together, and to make a front against the coming danger. The time had come to publish the tracts. When Dr. Pusey joined him, great was Mr. Newman's joy. “Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a professor and canon of Christchurch; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with university authorities.” Thus things went on till the appearance of Tract 90, and the founding of the bishopric of Jerusalem. The unanimous condemnation of the tract by the bishops, which followed, taught Mr. Newman that his views were not those of the church of England. And when the Jerusalem bishopric was founded, the church of England seemed to him to become a defender of heresy, and to forget its Catholic character. Thenceforward there was no rest till he got to Rome. Logically, we believe, he was right, though reluctantly he took the step. That he did so, we are of opinion is much to his credit. There is no *viâ media*. If the Bible is to be abandoned—if we are to take, instead, the traditions of the Fathers and the teachings of antiquity, Protestantism is, of course, a mistake, and Rome is once more the mistress of the world.



Of the broad church party, Dr. Döllinger says—"They have nothing positive. Their entity is in negative; they can only be described by saying they are not Anglicans; they are not Evangelicals; and so on. They are all under the influence of German literature and theology; they are opponents of a fixed form of doctrine, and they endeavour to make the contradictions of the Anglican church more tolerable, by assigning to dogma in general only a relative and temporary value, and declare a sort of general Christianity levelled and smoothed on rationalistic principles, to be all that is essential; though they are well content with the established church, as being a decorous institution, the best emblem of the national will in matters ecclesiastical, and well adapted to the real state of things." The chief men of this party were Professor Jowett, the authors of *Essays and Reviews*, Dean Stanley, Professor Kingsley, and last, and not least, Bishop Colenso. The late Mr. Robertson, of Brighton, was nearly, but not quite, allied to this sect.

Dr. Döllinger might well be surprised at the position of the church of England, where, according to the *Times*, "There is nothing to prevent any one from going out into the market, and buying a living for any silly, fanatical, extravagant, or incapable noodle of a son; and installing him, forthwith, as the spiritual mediator between the Almighty and one or two thousand of his creatures." He sees its bishops powerless concerning doctrine and discipline. He adverts to the nepotism of the church, and continues—"Thus, according to the confession of serious and conscientious men in the English church, it is an entirely worldly institution. The ecclesiastical offices have been, for 150 years, disposed of by the civil power, chiefly according to political views, and regarded and treated according to their lucrative value; the bishoprics, and other rich preferments, have been employed to procure for the ministry the support of influential families. At present they are chiefly bestowed on men of the Evangelical party, as these are most agreeable to powerful dissenters, and to great numbers of similarly disposed Anglicans of the middle class. The designation of a church benefice, as a living, is very characteristic. It is regarded entirely as a piece of private property; as a mere ware that can be bought, and sold, and bargained for as one pleases. The most open simony is an every-day occurrence in England, and meets with no remonstrance on the part of the bishops. It creates no surprise when the next presentation of a living is publicly offered for sale; and it is quite usual for a father to buy for one of his sons a commission in the army, and for the other the next presentation to a church living. And yet, every clergyman, upon entering on his living, has to take an oath that he has not obtained it through simony."

No wonder that, in Palmerston's time, men left the church. The Hon. Mr. Spencer, to whom we have already referred, was one. Another was the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, who became a Baptist clergyman: another was Blanco White, who became very negative; and who was followed by Stirling, and Francis Newman, the brother of Dr. Newman, who went over to Rome. He also has published, in his *Phases of Faith*, his religious experiences. Very early his training led him to come in contact with the church system, and to feel its hollowness. In the ceremony of his confirmation, at the age of sixteen, he says—"Everything in the service was solemn to me except the bishop; he seemed to me a made-up man." He began thus early to feel the difficulties all ought to feel in the conjunction of Calvinistic articles and a popish ritual. A year later, on entering the university, and subscribing to the articles, he perceived that not one-sixth of those who were compelled to subscribe "had any religious convictions at all;" and "that the whole system of compulsory subscription was hollow, false, and wholly evil." All his articles of faith at Oxford were torn away. The more his brother expatiated on the power of the bishops, the more Francis William distrusted and disliked them. He had come to perceive that "the episcopal order might be described as a body of supine persons, known to the public only as a dead weight against all change that was distasteful to the civil power." That

they had never "taken the lead in denouncing" the prevalent iniquities of the people; that they had never aided the great social reformers; that their patronage had exercised a strongly narcotic influence over the two old societies of the church; and that their nomination by the crown was an utter anomaly and wrong. Even if this had not stood in the way of his entering the church, the ordination service would; for "he could not, for an instant, believe that the bishop could transmit to him the power to forgive and retain sins." No wonder that Francis, like his brother John, was compelled to find that, in the church of England, there was no room for such as he: that he found, as all true men must find, that conformity, however great may be its rewards, is dear at the price of mental freedom and self-respect.

Far away, in the grammar-school at Rugby, Dr. Arnold was trying to settle church difficulties—trying to put new wine into old bottles—till he died. His theory was more political than religious: that the church of England and the nation are synonymous. Of course, he failed; but he did the state good service, nevertheless. He raised up for church and parliament, for the law and public life, some of the noblest of our modern men.

In the Irish church, also, at this time, there was a remarkable man, whose influence was great; and of which, we can truly say, that it is deeply to be regretted it was not greater. Archbishop Whately—for it is of him we write—was feared by all. The Whigs trembled lest in the House of Lords, as Lord Holland said, he might at any time get up and declare that there was no use in the order of bishops; and the high-church party were aroused and irritated by his powerful logic, and irresistible common sense.

Archbishop Whately died in October, 1863, at his country residence, Roebuck House, near Dublin. His grace had long been suffering from an illness which, at his advanced age (he was born in 1787), could have but one result; and the bulletins, which had been published from day to day, prepared the public mind for the melancholy event. The late archbishop was the son of the Rev. Dr. Whately, of Nonsuch Park, Surrey. He was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, of which, in 1819, he was elected a Fellow. The college of Oriel is famous for having sent out some of the greatest thinkers of which English churchmen of the present generation may boast; such as Dr. Arnold, Dr. Copleston, Dr. J. H. Newman, and the late archbishop. Whately was appointed to read the Bampton lectures in 1822, in which year he accepted the rectory of Halesworth, in Suffolk, value £450 per annum. In the contest which took place in the university, when Sir Robert Peel appealed to his learned constituents upon the Catholic question, Whately voted for the right honourable baronet. In 1830 he was appointed President of St. Alban's Hall, and Professor of Political Economy; and, in 1831, he was consecrated Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Glendalagh. The diocese of Kildare was subsequently added to his charge. From the life recently published by his daughter, it appears this appointment was made by Earl Grey solely on public grounds. He and Whately had never met. His lordship published a considerable number of theological writings, consisting of sermons and charges, all marked by a desire to place religion on a simple and scriptural basis, and in harmony with man's intellectual nature. His style was aphoristic and luminous, and his reasoning severe. In the administration of his office he displayed a uniform liberality, and was a constant promoter of the national system of education in Ireland. He was the author, among other works, of a treatise on political economy, and of the best manual of logic which we possess.

"Forty years ago there was," wrote the *Times* in a leader after the archbishop's decease, "in the University of Oxford a man who seemed to have devoted himself, single-handed, to stem the whole current of academic sentiment and opinion. The university, with hardly an exception, was one way, and Richard Whately the other. Oxford had resigned itself to orthodoxy and Toryism, and Whately was an inquirer and a Liberal. Tomline ruled in the lecture-room; the



formulas of Aldrich were committed to memory for the schools; and a succinct course of reading, which then had the charm of novelty, carried the more ambitious through certain poets, histories, and 'sciences,' to the first or second class of honours. Not only a revolution, but a revolutionary age, had then been happily surmounted; the great type of self-will, and the nearest figure of antichrist the world had yet seen, had just been laid under a willow-tree at St. Helena; and few, indeed, were the students who did not come up to Oxford, resolved to conform to anything that was established, whether in thought, word, or deed. Whately seemed to have formed the exactly opposite resolution. He had counted the cost, which appeared to him very trifling, and he was evidently prepared to run a tilt at any number of the men he found about him. He was not really single-handed, for he had friends in council, and even teachers, from whom he derived inspiration. But Coplestone was quite content to think profoundly, to read, to criticise, to amuse his friends with his wit and humour, to write good Latin, and make young gentlemen wise statesmen; and gladly left to his pupil a movement for which he was himself becoming physically disqualified."

So Whately, whether as Fellow or tutor of his college, or as president of a hall, and so taking part in the government of the university, talked and wrote as no man had ever talked or written before on the banks of the Isis, unless it might be some doubting doctor of the middle ages, whose very name has been happily suppressed by his pious survivors. All that he said and wrote went to make people think for themselves, to value truth for its own sake, to be content with no prescriptive reasoning, to be just, generous, and public-spirited. His was a sharp and almost violent reaction against prejudice, sophistry, bigotry, and all the shams that had substituted falsehood for truth, and the part for the whole. But he unsettled where he could not re-arrange; he disturbed where he could not calm; he raised doubts, which he was content to see working their way; and even his friends compared him to the fisherman who lashed the stream with his pole, but had no net to secure the fish as they swam away. But wherever he went he was easily and always master of the situation; his talk was a rapid and overflowing stream of argument, quotation, illustration, which it was impossible not to admire. It was all the same whether in his old common room, among the friends of his youth, or in companies where he was regarded as a heretic and a false philosopher. He often surged into indignation; he satirised freely, and snubbed without a qualm, or even a thought, for his victim. He walked over ignorance, stupidity, and conceit, as a man crushes the shells on the sea-shore. There limped about the university, men whom he had fearfully maimed, without his knowing anything about it, and who revenged themselves by loud complaints when safe out of hearing. But to genius and to goodness Whately felt as a brother; and even where there was some disagreement or diversity of temper, he was a loving, confiding, and most zealous friend. But what was he to be?—for even at Oxford every man has a future as well as a present and past. The singularity and freedom of his manners, and indifference to the feelings of those he did not like or respect, seemed to cut him off from all promotion. Indeed, nobody thought of him in that light, any more than he did himself, in all probability. He lectured lying on a sofa, with his legs over the end. He would throw a stick, or roll a turnip, for the amusement of his dogs in Christchurch meadow. He always had a *fidus Achates*, who had little else to do but to keep pace and listen. What else could Whately be? True, he was known at Holland House; but so were others, of high standing and of less blemished orthodoxy. It seemed almost certain that Whately would live and die an Oxford "head," of the eccentric, unaccommodating, and ultimately unsociable class. There are such men. He would die and die out there; he would live a brief term in the short memories of common rooms, and the somewhat longer recollections of those older dons who meet to revive names, to compare dates, to trace careers, to pronounce terse judgments and sentimental epitaphs upon dead movements and buried reputations.



"All at once Oxford was thunderstruck to hear that Whately was Archbishop of Dublin. The university was thrown on its beam-ends by the news. It could not have been more astonished had it heard that a conclave of cardinals had elected him to the holy see. It was true that by this there were certain temporal difficulties to be settled in Ireland as best they could, and that Whately was known to have talked about them, as he did of everything else; it was true, also, that by this time the 'powers that be' had somewhat changed; but universities take time to understand changes. Like kine, they are ruminating bodies. It was thought that he was utterly unfit for dignity and position; that he would throw the Irish church into a flame, and involve himself and all about him in difficulties from which they could never be set free. It was assumed that he knew nothing of the Roman Catholics; that the established church would excommunicate him for his theology; and that his want of manner and tact would offend the Irish government and magnates. He was gravely assured that even his life was in danger, and that somebody or other—it was not clear who—would answer his arguments with a logic happily unknown at Oxford. His reception on the other side was not very cordial. However, it was soon known that he found Dublin at least as congenial and pleasant as Oxford. He was immediately admired, soon liked, and eventually found as useful as his patrons could possibly have anticipated. He soon astonished even those who had known him at Oxford, by two achievements beyond the power of most men even in this versatile and practised age—his evidence before the select committee on the Irish tithes; and the compromise he effected with Archbishop Murray for the introduction of a system of national education. With regard to the former, when it is considered that the archbishop had not had those opportunities and that experience that constitute what is called a practical man, and that for many of the questions he could not have been prepared, his evidence showed a marvellous amount of information and of insight into men and things. The latter—that is, the compromise—was the result of long negotiation, and the careful preparation of school manuals. As a political act, to meet a very pressing emergency, and bring together for a time extremes said to be utterly unsociable, it must be called quite successful. It led to twenty years of peaceful if not hearty co-operation, at a most important epoch of our common annals. No one can pretend that it was not worth the compromise, and that Richard Whately has not left his mark on his church and his country."

We have already spoken of the Hampden controversy, which reflected disgrace on most of the clergy connected with it. In Palmerston's time there were many more such cases. In 1863, Professor Jowett, the Oxford Greek professor, was subjected to a considerable amount of annoyance by the orthodox party. However, it came to an inglorious termination. As the judge of the University Small Debts Courts refused, in the exercise of his discretionary powers, to hear the case, the three prosecutors proposed to make application to the Queen's Bench for a *mandamus*, requiring the judge to hear it. On taking the opinion of two first-class ecclesiastical lawyers, however, they found, in brief, that though the Queen's Bench had probably power to issue the *mandamus*, yet that the court had certainly a discretion, and would use it, not to issue the writ. The prosecutors learned, at the same time, to their mortification, that there was a superior court in the university itself, to which they might have appealed; but that, while they were trying the Court of Queen's Bench, the legal time for appealing to the university court had passed away. They incurred, therefore, for nothing, the odium of prosecuting a man for a book several years old; of defeating themselves by their own blunders, and of making the Greek professor—very popular before—more popular than ever. But, before that, there was the great Gorham case, declaring, to the mortification of the evangelicals, that baptismal regeneration was taught by the church of England; and the Knightsbridge affair, considered, at the time, a blow to the ritualists—one from which, however, they have, if we may judge by appearances, speedily recovered. In March, 1859, the Archbishop of Canter-



bury gave his decision in the case of the Rev. Mr. Poole, accused of introducing the practice of the confessional at St. Barnabas, Pimlico. The archbishop's decision was confirmatory of that of the Bishop of London, revoking Mr. Poole's license. In the autumn of the same year there were disturbances at the church of St. George's in the East, London, in consequence of the rector, the Rev. Bryan King, adopting a ritual and vestments similar to those of the Roman Catholics, and his refusal to allow a suitable time for the Sunday afternoon lecture, by the Rev. Hugh Allen. After ten weeks had elapsed, the Bishop of London undertook to arbitrate in the case, and propounded an accommodation. This proved ineffectual; for after the church had been shut up for several Sundays, on its being reopened the disturbances were recommenced. Ritualism is all very well for fancy churches; but not for the people and parochial churches. This fact became clearer every day.

The appearance of *Essays and Reviews* created a considerable consternation amongst the orthodox party in the church. The authors of this obnoxious publication were Dr. Temple, chaplain to the queen, and head-master of Rugby; Dr. Williams, vice-principal and professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter; Professor Baden Powell, of Oxford; Mr. Wilson, vicar of Great Staughton, Hants; the Rev. Mr. Goodwin; Mr. Pattinson, rector of Lincoln College, Oxford; and Professor Jowett, of Oxford. The book was thus written on the co-operative principle; was decidedly rationalistic; it contained little novelty; the novelty was in the fact that clergymen of position should thus write to shake the faith of the people. Their work, in university circles, was known as the seven against Christ; and, in one or two cases, the law courts were appealed to, and the orthodox triumphed. Alas! their triumph was not of long duration. On February 8th, 1864, by the judicial committee of the privy council, the judgments of the Court of Arches, in the cases of the Bishop of Salisbury against R. Williams, and of Fendall against Wilson, for articles written in *Essays and Reviews*, were reversed.

A still greater sensation was created when Bishop Colenso, of Natal, published his work on the Pentateuch—a work, again, with little novelty to the well-informed in such matters; but remarkable for the fact, that in it a bishop demonstrates the falsehood of that Scripture which he has in public to read and sanction. The anomaly appeared, even to Bishop Colenso, so extraordinary, that he was prepared to come over to England, and resign his office; but the judgment in the case of the *Essays and Reviews*, decided him that it was his duty to remain in the church. His colonial superior, Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, thought otherwise. It appears that, in the year 1863, charges of heresy were preferred against Dr. Colenso, before Dr. Gray, Bishop of Cape Town, who delivered a sentence upon those charges, by which he deposed the Bishop of Natal from his office, and further prohibited him from the exercise of any sacred functions within the metropolitan province of Cape Town. The Bishop of Natal protested against this assumption of authority, and petitioned the judicial committee, praying that he might be declared entitled to hold his see until the letters patent, which had been granted him, should be cancelled by due process of law. On March 20th, the judicial committee of the privy council decided that the Bishop of Cape Town had no jurisdiction over the Bishop of Natal, and had, therefore, no power to remove him from his office, and that the proceedings against Bishop Colenso were null and void in law.

This decision astonished all parties. When recording it, the *Times* wrote—“It is hard to say which of the contending parties has the more or less reason to be satisfied with this singular result. Dr. Colenso has successfully disputed the authority of the Bishop of Cape Town, but only to discover that his own authority is equally shadowy; and the Bishop of Cape Town, if he is compelled to surrender his usurped authority in Natal, may console himself by reflecting that Dr. Colenso has no power to assert a counter-authority, and that no

clergyman need be contaminated against his will by any intercourse with episcopal heresy. That which will probably strike the public as forcibly as anything, is the confusion which this judgment brings to light. Here have bishops been sitting in solemn conclave, and going through all the elaborate forms of ecclesiastical trial and judgment; hearing learned arguments, and pronouncing pompous decisions: and it turns out that they were going through no more than a sort of ecclesiastical play; and that, for all practical purposes, they might just as well have been acting a mediæval farce for their own amusement in London. The good they have done is to furnish an opportune illustration of the sort of ecclesiastical law which their friends would be glad to introduce in this country; but, more than this, we see 'official persons' drawing up the most elaborate letters patent for these two, and for other colonial bishops, in innocent ignorance that they were producing mere waste-paper. Solemn documents have passed the great seal over and over again, which are simply null and void; and oaths have been repeatedly taken, which either had no meaning, or which it would have been illegal to observe. The depth of confusion which these ecclesiastical demonstrations have reached is, indeed, unfathomable. One cannot but feel a certain compassion for the colonial bishops, who are thus reduced to so helpless, and, comparatively, insignificant a position; but the public in general, and the colonies in particular, may be sincerely congratulated on this issue of what promised to be a most troublesome and difficult question. For the future, whatever may be the distracting influences which Zulus, Kaffirs, or other heretical savages may bring to bear upon the Christianity of the colonies, the consequent disputes will have to be settled by the voluntary action of the colonists themselves."—"From this astounding decision," wrote the *Morning Advertiser*, "two or three questions immediately flow. First—Since the crown has thus befooled the Bishop of Cape Town—sending him to Natal to hold a visitation, to pass a sentence, and then to maintain it in England—does the crown really mean to leave the bishop to pay all the costs of these proceedings? From first to last, the bishop cannot have spent less than £2,000, which, we suppose, is equal to three years' income; and he has done this in pursuance of instructions clearly given to him in the queen's patent. If the crown has given him wrong instructions, is the crown to throw the cost of his obedience on himself? Secondly—But, again, are these colonial bishops to be irresponsible persons, subject to no law whatever? It is decided by this judicial committee, that, do what he may in matters of religion, the Bishop of Natal has no superior—is subject to no jurisdiction. Now, he has already written in favour of the allowance of polygamy; and he was present at that meeting of the Anthropological Society, in which Mahommedanism was declared to be better suited to Africa than Christianity. He was present, and uttered no protest. What if he should take it into his head to turn Mahommedan? Stranger things have been seen. But, if he took this step, where is the remedy? According to this judgment of the judicial committee, there is none! Surely it is impossible that matters can be left in such a position as this!" The *Daily News* asked if there was a diocese of Natal at all? and dwelt on the full and emphatic declaration of Erastian principles made at the very opening. "The bishops are declared to be ecclesiastical persons, who 'have been created bishops by the queen, in the exercise of her authority as sovereign of this realm, and head of the established church;' 'their legal existence depends on acts which have no validity or effect except on the basis of the supremacy of the crown;' 'they are the creatures of English law, and dependent on that law for their existence, rights, and attributes.' These principles, which are enunciated and iterated with a certain zest at the beginning of the judgment, form the basis of all the reasoning on which it proceeds. The lords of the judicial committee say—'We must treat the parties before us as standing on this (legal) foundation, and on no other.'"

Very wisely Lord Palmerston left the churchmen to wrangle among themselves; and he filled up all the vacancies as they occurred, in a way of which the



public generally approved. This ecclesiastical patronage was enormous. During his first year of the Premiership, not a single vacancy occurred among the right reverend occupants of the episcopal bench; but, in the following year, Lord Palmerston was called upon to make no less than five appointments—namely, to the bishoprics of Carlisle, Durham, Gloucester and Bristol, London, and Ripon. The annual value of those sees, respectively, is as follows:—London, £10,000; Durham, £8,000; Gloucester and Bristol, £5,000; Carlisle, £4,500; and Ripon, £4,500; showing a total value of £32,000. To the see of Ripon, Dr. Bickersteth was appointed—Dr. Longley, who had previously held it, being translated to Durham. Dr. Villiers was installed at Carlisle; Dr. Baring at Gloucester and Bristol; whilst the metropolitan see, vacant through the resignation of Bishop Bloomfield, was conferred on Dr. Tait, Dean of Carlisle. In 1857, there was but one vacancy; and that was in the see of Norwich, value £4,500. To this bishopric Dr. Pelham was appointed. Passing over the interregnum in Lord Palmerston's power, which took place in the years 1858 and 1859, we come to 1860, a year in which many rich pieces of ecclesiastical patronage fell to the disposal of the lord of Broadlands. In the month of May died Dr. Musgrave, Archbishop of York, the revenues of the see being £10,000 per annum. Dr. Longley was now translated from Durham to York; Dr. Villiers was translated from Carlisle to Durham; and Dr. Waldegrave was placed in the vacant see of Carlisle. The same year also witnessed vacancies in the bishoprics of Rochester and Worcester, each of the value of £5,000 per annum. To the former was appointed Dr. Wigram; and to the latter, Dr. Philpot. Dr. Villiers did not long survive his translation from Carlisle to Durham. He died in 1861, and was succeeded by Dr. Baring. The translation of the latter prelate rendered vacant the see of Gloucester and Bristol, which was given to Dr. Thomson. But it was not until the autumn of 1862 that the richest pieces of church preferment fell to the disposal of Lord Palmerston. In the month of October, in that year, the venerable primate of Ireland, the Right Rev. Lord John Beresford—who had been in failing health for many months—was gathered to his fathers at the age of nearly ninety years. The value of the primacy was about £14,500 a year; and to it succeeded a near relative of the deceased, the Right Rev. Lord Marcus Gervais Beresford, aforetime Bishop of Kilmore, Elphin, and Armagh. The vacancy created by this translation was filled by Dr. Verschoyle, Dean of Ferns. But the richest of all the prizes of ecclesiastical patronage was shortly to fall into the hands of the lucky Premier. The aged Archbishop of Canterbury was gradually sinking from exhaustion consequent on natural decay, and swiftly followed the primate of all Ireland to the grave. On the 6th of September, by the death of Dr. Sumner, the primacy of all England, with an income of £15,000, fell to the disposal of Lord Palmerston. As in the case of York, the Premier, in filling this archiepiscopal see, contrived to make three appointments out of one vacancy. Dr. Longley was translated for the third time within six years, and sent from York to Canterbury. Dr. Thomson was promoted from Gloucester and Bristol to the archbishopric of York; whilst Dr. Ellicott, Dean of Exeter, was appointed Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. And then, in the autumn of 1863, the fourth archbishopric happened to fall in. The death of Dr. Whately gave the Premier a piece of patronage, value £7,636 per annum. Lord Palmerston twice filled the bishopric of Cork; Dr. Fitzgerald, who was appointed in 1857, having been translated from this see to that of Kilaloe, in 1861. He likewise supplied vacancies in many Irish deaneries; and in England those of Canterbury, Westminster, Carlisle, Ripon, Lincoln, Gloucester and Bristol, and Exeter twice.

The united annual value of the sees held by the twenty-seven prelates, who constitute the English hierarchy, is £151,200; and of this Lord Palmerston had had the disposal of very nearly one-half, or £75,500. Vast as this amount of patronage might appear, it shows more strikingly by contrast with that which has fallen to the lot of previous Prime Ministers. Sir Robert Peel held office from 1841 to 1846; and in these five years filled as many bishoprics—those of Chichester,



Ely, Lichfield, Oxford, and St. Asaph—with an annual value of £23,400. During the six years of Lord John Russell's administration, from 1846 to 1852, the amount of patronage which fell to his disposal was just as much as that which in one year alone—1856—fell to Lord Palmerston. Lord John filled the primacy, and the bishoprics of Chester, Hereford, Llandaff, and Manchester, with an aggregate revenue of £32,100 per annum. During Lord Aberdeen's ministry, from 1852 to 1855, the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, Lincoln, and Salisbury were filled, with an annual income of £5,000 each. The Earl of Derby has holden office altogether about two years and two months—namely, ten months in 1852, and sixteen months in 1858-'9. The only episcopal appointment made by the Conservative leader was that of Dr. Campbell to the bishopric of Bangor, in 1859, the revenues of the see being £4,000 a year. From these calculations it will be seen, that the aggregate amount of patronage disposed of by Sir Robert Peel, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the Earl of Derby, amounted to £75,400. So that Lord Palmerston, in seven years, had, within the small sum of £3,000, disposed of as much church patronage as his predecessors in the Premiership during a period of sixteen years. But when we take into consideration the noble viscount's Irish patronage, representing a total of £28,120 per annum, and add this to the £71,500, the value of his English church preferments, we have a grand total of £99,620, or a yearly sum amounting very nearly to £100,000.

Such is the annual value of the appointments which have been made by Lord Palmerston. Of the twenty-seven prelates who sit in the House of Lords, no less than ten have been placed there by himself. Add to these five Irish sees, and the number of his bishops is increased to fifteen. Twice he filled the archbishopric of York; once the archbishoprics of Canterbury, Armagh, and Dublin—Dr. Trench, Dean of Westminster, being appointed to this last. Three times the noble lord had been called upon to appoint new overseers to the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol, and Durham; and twice he filled the vacant bishoprics of Carlisle and Cork; and once those of London, Rochester, Norwich, Worcester, and Ripon. Of the twenty-seven prelates on the episcopal benches, ten owe their positions to Lord Palmerston; five to Sir Robert Peel; four to Lord Russell; three to the Earl of Aberdeen; two, the Bishops of Peterborough and St. David's, to Lord Melbourne; one, the Bishop of Winchester, to Lord Liverpool; one, the Bishop of Exeter, to the Duke of Wellington; and one, the Bishop of Bangor, to the Earl of Derby.

Meanwhile the ecclesiastical trials and troubles, at which we have glanced, were teaching the Premier and all men that something must be done to liberalise the church and the universities. "I have long been of opinion," wrote the Rev. W. G. Clark, Fellow and tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge, "that the maintenance of religious tests keeps from the universities many who might have been their ornament and support, and affords to the church no security at all commensurate with the odium they excite. In fact, the only dissenters they exclude are those who have a very scrupulous conscience, and a very high sense of the obligations of a promise—precisely the men we should be most anxious to admit." And the same may be said of the clerical profession. More and more, as experience shows, men of "scrupulous conscience and of a very high sense of the obligations of a promise," refuse to become church ministers, and feel that any honest way of getting a livelihood is better than that. In 1864, Mr. Dodson nearly carried his bill to abolish subscription to the articles on taking the degree of M.A., D.C.L., and M.D.; and thus, in religious matters (in 1862 the Rev. M. Heath was deprived of his living for heterodox sentiments contained in his sermons), the England of Lord Palmerston's old age had altered very much from that of his youth. One juvenile enthusiast had even gone so far as to found a monastery, first at Claydon, in Suffolk, and then at Norwich; and to walk about the streets in a monkish costume. Thus, between ritualism on the one side, and broad churchism on the other, the establishment had grown to be in a state in which it was



encompassed by such dangers as had never threatened it in "the good old times." Those acquainted, however, with the history of the English state church need trouble themselves little, or feel but little alarm, when the cry of danger is raised. If tender consciences are shocked—if weak brothers are offended—if high-spirited men think it mean and ignominious to subscribe to that which they do not and cannot believe, for a bit of bread—if the men of cultivated intellect reject the services of the church, and join the ranks of practical dissent, it matters little. Where there is a wealthy endowment there will always be a state church; where there is money to give away there will always be hands stretched out to receive it; where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The church of England can never claim to be the church of the nation. As long as our territorial system of government prevails, it will last; as long as it is thought genteel to go to church, it will last; as long as the middle class in our land is absorbed in money-making and frivolous amusements, it will last: but on those who feel, as many do, that God's truth can win its way in spite of principalities and powers—who believe the living faith of Christ and his apostles (the poor fishermen of Galilee) is not aided but crippled by state patronage and support—its hold will be weakened day by day. It is even questionable whether its exclusive command of the universities is a real benefit. A university training did not make Gibbon a Christian, while it drove Shelley into fierce and bitter hostility to Christianity. Sir James Graham confessed, on one occasion, in the House of Commons, that he received no religious teaching whatever while at Oxford. Besides, it is a fact, that the sceptical writers of the day, such as Newman and others, are university men, trained to be church ministers, but on whom a residence at Oxford or Cambridge had much the same effect as a residence at Rome had on Luther. There were, as was to be expected, endless agitations and discordant passions, all the while Lord Palmerston was Premier, on church matters; but his lordship was too wary to interfere.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### A FEW HOUSE OF COMMONS' NOTES.

A WRITER in the *London Review*, in 1861, says, in a parliamentary sketch—"Among the freshest arrivals of spring is that marvellous young old man, Lord Palmerston. He comes up jubilant as the earliest lark, and crisp and new as the brightest spring flower. No frost of age seems to have chilled the life that glows in the region of his heart. A sunshine breaks out through his furrowed features, and lights up that countenance of threescore and sixteen years with the lights of forty years, as if in the depths of his soul were an unwasted youth, which finds openings through his eyes, and expression in his speech. Lord Palmerston lives in everybody's memory as a young man. He seems to have found the philosopher's stone, or to have bathed in the fountain of perpetual youth. With him it is always spring. He is a living evergreen. Were he to cease to appear in the House, or his speeches no more to be seen in our parliamentary reports, it would feel as if London had lost its spring, and parliament its best bit of sunshine. The ever-renewed sprig in the button-hole of his coat is a type of the Premier. His heart keeps green notwithstanding many a trouble. Feeling as much as other men, he retains the happy power of throwing off his mind the *worry*, while he keeps in hand the *work* of each day. Perhaps, too, under that merry mood, and in spite of the witty remark, and deep down in the recesses of his nature, may lie, neither dried up in summer's heat nor frozen over in winter's cold, full springs that

freshen his life, and yield him, in his quiet hours, sustaining draughts. When it shall cease to be spring with him, we trust he will lay his head on his pillow, and find his last sleep to be everlasting refreshment. His buoyant spirits have lighted up many a hard and prosy debate, and vivified many a dull House, and made the old and leafless survivors of autumn open their eyes and fancy it was spring again."

Let us gather together a few parliamentary items here. In 1861, the four seats in the House of Commons, forfeited by the disfranchisement of St. Alban's and Sudbury, were allotted. One was given to Birkenhead, another to Lancashire.

In February, Mr. Locke King moved for leave to bring in a bill to extend the franchise in England and Wales, the object being to establish a £10 franchise in counties. Lord Palmerston, while not opposing the introduction of the measure, could not promise any active support, as he thought it injudicious, after the reception the government Reform Bill met with last session, to revive the question in the present session of parliament. On a division, the motion was lost by 167 to 51. Mr. H. Berkeley brought on his annual discussion on the ballot, which was rejected by a large majority; as was Mr. Baines's bill to reduce the borough franchise. It is clear the House had no stomach for any kind of parliamentary reform. In most respects the action of the House was negative. Commissions were appointed for all sorts of things—to consider the embankment of the Thames; to inquire into the present system of transportation; to inquire into the constitution of the Board of Admiralty; to inquire whether and what alterations may be advantageously adopted in regard to the defence of the British dependencies; to inquire into the diplomatic service: and then there was one to inquire into the case of Mr. Stewart, one of the members for Cambridge, who had, on a recent occasion, come from a lunatic asylum, where he was residing under the care of the proprietor, and had given a vote on a division in the House. Members were far more ready to trifle, and evade the consideration of difficult questions, than to work. Thus, for instance, it had been resolved that admission to the civil service should be, not as previously, by favour, but by competitive examinations, in which the candidate who answered best the questions put to him should have the preference over others. Still the House was quite ready to laugh at the new system; and we find Mr. Baillie Cochrane excited some amusement by noticing certain absurdities of the test examination system. Among the questions set in 1860-'61 were the following:—"What do you understand by a good English style? and give proofs of your being able to write in such a style. Write a series of short sentences, every one of them containing a figure of speech." Another question was, "Give a description of winter, stating its various duties and amusements." He (Mr. Cochrane) did not know whether "curling" was one of the winter amusements referred to by the examiner. Another question—all these were to be answered in two hours—was, "Give a bit of English historians, characterising each of them by a single epithet." Another was this—"Compare the influence of the ballad writers of early times with that of the press of the present day." One of the things asked of the candidate was to write a panegyric upon General Garibaldi, General Havelock, and Sir I. Newton. They were asked, also, to "write an essay on the queen's visit to Germany;" and "if a holiday were given to a man employed in a public office, how it would be advisable to spend it?" No less than six times students were asked to give essays on Garibaldi's expedition to Sicily: but perhaps every other instance of absurdity was exceeded by the following question: "Give your views on the late fight for the championship between Tom Sayers and Heenan." He would cite only one more, as being perhaps the most extraordinary of all, much as they had heard of the views of geological theorists. "Give the evidence which exists for believing in former submersions of the British Islands beneath the sea. State when the last of these submersions took place, and by what phenomena it was accompanied."



International laws, educational discussions, national defences, were the questions chiefly agitated in 1862. On March 4th, a resolution, proposed by Mr. Arthur Mills, with an addition by Mr. Baxter, passed, to the effect that, while all portions of the British empire have a claim to imperial aid, against perils arising from the consequences of imperial policy, the colonies, which have the right of self-government, ought to undertake the main responsibility of providing for their own internal order and security; and such colonies ought to assist in their own external defence. In April, Mr. R. Sheridan, by a majority of 127 to 116 against the government, obtained leave to bring in a bill to reduce the duty on fire insurance at once, from 3s. to 2s. per cent., and at the expiration of five years, to 1s. per cent. The House also agreed to appoint a committee to consider the practicability of adopting a simple and uniform system of weights and measures. Other committees were chosen, to inquire whether any consolidation of some of the offices of the Board of Inland Revenue might be effected; to inquire into the operation of the petty charges on commerce, imposed in 1860; to inquire into the operation of the present scale of sugar duties; to consider the expediency of legalising the circulation, in the United Kingdom, of the sovereigns coined at Sydney; to inquire into the working of the law relating to patents. In July, on the motion of Lord Elcho, it was agreed to present an address to her majesty, praying for the appointment of a royal commission to inquire into the present position of the Royal Academy, in relation to the fine arts, and the occupation of a portion of the National Gallery. A night-poaching bill was carried. The country gentlemen could always take care of themselves, but in vain did members try to get church subscription modified, or to carry the abolition of church-rates, or to get the ballot into use for the election of members of parliament. One step taken in the right direction, was that of passing an act to facilitate the proof to, and the conveyance of, real estates. As regards parliamentary reform, nothing was done. The subject appears to have been, by common consent, utterly ignored.

In 1863, an attempt was made to put down the city police. Sir George Grey moved for leave to bring in a bill amalgamating them with the metropolitan police; but it was subsequently withdrawn. Mr. Soames' Sunday Bill was equally unsuccessful. In June, Mr. Bagwell moved a resolution, that it was impolitic any longer to exclude Ireland from the operation of the volunteer system. Lord Palmerston opposed, not from any doubt of the loyalty of the Irish; but he argued that religious warmth was likely to lead to dangerous results when the parties were armed. The motion was wisely negatived by 156 to 45. In many matters the House, as usual, was liberal with other people's money. Mr. Lowe moved for a grant of £804,000 for public education, and the grant was agreed to; and £122,883 were voted for the department of science and art. Lord Palmerston moved for a grant of £120,000 for the purpose of purchasing the land on which stood the Exhibition building at Kensington Gore, preparatory to purchasing the building, at a cost of £80,000. Some opposition was made; but, ultimately, £67,000 was voted towards the purchase of land. In March, Mr. Forster called attention to the fitting out, in our ports, vessels of war for the Confederates, in contravention of the Foreign Enlistment Act. The Solicitor-general replied to Mr. Forster, that the government had acted with good faith towards the United States; they were anxious to enforce the law, but they must have legal evidence of its violation before they could act. Lord Palmerston contended we had done everything the law enabled us to do; and that the Northern States had no just cause of complaint. In May, Mr. Gladstone had to suffer a slight defeat. In his budget for the year, he had introduced a plan for the taxation of charities. He showed abundantly the mischief many of them did, and the way in which their funds were wasted. This case seemed unanswerable. However, the House of Commons was of a contrary opinion; and he had to withdraw that part of his scheme. In July, Lord Naas drew attention to the state of affairs in China, where, he said, we were injudiciously interfering. Mr. Layard maintained, that per-

mitting officers to serve in the China army was no breach of neutrality. Lord Palmerston said he could not understand the censure of Lord Naas, who seemed to imply that we were teaching the Chinese the art of government, how to regulate their finances, increase their revenue, and improve their administration: he admitted these charges, and claimed credit for them. In July, Mr. R. Sheridan gained another victory over government, by carrying a resolution to the effect, that the duty on fire insurance was excessive, and should be reduced. Some legislative measures—small, but useful—were passed; but no mention was made of reform, or no measure, of a partial character even, was attempted to be carried.

One of the debates was on racing matters and queen's plates, on which Lord Palmerston was an authority. General Peel, as a great supporter of the turf, called attention to the subject. Lord Palmerston said he entirely concurred in what had fallen from the gallant officer opposite. He differed from those who contended that the breed of horses had deteriorated. He believed that, generally, the breed of horses was better than ever it was as to size, substance, power, and endurance. Let any man go into a racing-stable, and seeing the bone and substance of the horses, let him ask himself what he would wish to see better in the shape of a four-legged animal. The fact was, greater pains were now taken to bring the two-year-olds to a greater size than formerly. If the breed of horses in this country had deteriorated, foreigners would not come here to buy English horses. But, every year, more and more foreigners come here from the continent to buy English horses. A deputation of gentlemen, from the Royal Agricultural Society of Ireland, called upon him, and complained that the breed of horses there was deteriorating; but they stated, in the course of conversation, that, from the port of Dublin, 5,000 horses had been exported in the course of last year. No doubt the principle of supply and demand would operate in regard to horses as in regard to other articles, and that an effectual demand would be met by the supply. With regard to the motion, the subject would be considered by the Master of the Horse, in common with the best judges of the turf; and they would see whether greater weight, or longer distances, would or would not be advisable in improving the breed of horses. But it appeared to him that there was greater weight in what the gallant general said, that they ought not to abolish prizes which applied to horses of greater age than those which usually ran.

This reminds us of a sketch of Lord Palmerston in the hunting-field, as described in the *Mark Lane Express*, in the winter of 1864-'65. The writer says—"The meet of the Hursley hounds, on Monday, was at Eldon Farm, when a messenger arrived to announce that Lord Palmerston intended honouring the field with his presence; and, accordingly, punctual to the appointed time, the veteran Premier made his appearance, under the pilotage of the Hon. Ralph Dutton, M.P.; and astonished every one by the ease with which he dismounted the horse he rode to covert, and got on his hunter, looking as fresh as he was ten years ago, and, as usual, affable and pleasant to all. The hounds were thrown into Michaelmas, a covert belonging to Mr. Dutton, when a leash of foxes was immediately afoot; and, after twenty minutes in the woodland, ran to ground about a mile from the find, his lordship being one of the first up with the hounds. Another fox was then hallooed away, and a capital run followed of one hour and twenty minutes. Lord Palmerston remained the first thirty minutes in the open, and rode right well, his honourable pilot being frequently heard to exclaim, 'This way, my lord!' making for a gate or a gap: but, on one occasion, the hounds were running quite in another direction to that suggested, when his lordship was understood to say—'But there go the hounds, and I must follow them;' and away he went as hard as he could go, and was soon up with the leading horseman, leaving his honourable pilot to look out for gates and gaps."

We must here digress a little further. In 1864, on the occasion of a visit to Tiverton, Lord Palmerston attended the races, and dined at the race ordinary;



where, after his health had been drunk, he said—"Mr. Nagle has been pleased to advert to what I have been doing in Ireland as an Irish proprietor. I will only say that if, as my worthy friend stated, that man is a benefactor to mankind who makes two blades of grass grow where only one grew before, I may claim some merit, because I had at one time nearly 1,000 acres of blowing sand, where no blade of grass grew; and now, in consequence of having assiduously planted that sand with bent, which dies away after it has come to a certain growth, and is followed by grass, I have succeeded in covering the whole of that barren spot with grass; and, therefore, I have done something more than make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before. I am glad to say that I and my tenantry are on very good terms; and although I am happy to see a great many faces when I visit that part of the country, for their own sakes I should be glad if many of them would go to a place where they would be more able to benefit themselves. But so long as they choose to remain in their present position, I shall be most happy to allow them. Mr. Nagle remarked that he was not allowed to advert to politics. But I beg leave to advert in a certain degree, I will not say to politics, but to political conditions, and, especially, to government and parliamentary conditions; for there is a great similarity between government and parliamentary conditions and the racing which we have been attending to-day. The House of Commons very much resembles a race-course. First of all, parties go there and run for the queen's plate. It is a general sweepstakes, and more than one takes the stakes if he wins. Then, again, there is the match; and he is a lucky man who does not meet with his match; but almost every man does meet with his match, and he is not at all contented in that encounter. Our rules are somewhat similar to those which guide the turf, because there is that good feeling in the House of Commons which gives weight for age. It is very true that the young ones are, sometimes, very apt to bolt out of the course. We have one rule which is not enjoyed to the same degree by the turf—that is to say, that sometimes we run a dead heat, which, in parliamentary language, is expressed by the words 'a tie.' But then our judge does not make us run the heat over again; does not make us go through the debate again; and take the division over again. Our judge decides the matter on the spot; and, a dead heat having been run, he decides in favour of one horse or the other, just as he may think it best to do. The Speaker settles the matter. He gives the casting vote. Then there is another thing in which we greatly resemble the turf—that is to say, it often happens that a very good-looking horse breaks down. And so there is a great analogy, in reality, between things that apparently differ very much. I think I have shown—perhaps you were not aware of it before—that there is a great analogy between parliament and the turf. I think I have kept my word, and given you a little of parliamentary conditions. I hope, in so doing, that I have not intruded anything that was not strictly in accordance with your rules; that I have not introduced anything which is not entirely appropriate to a race-meeting. I will now conclude by returning my best thanks for the honour which you have conferred upon my colleague and myself by drinking the toast with so much cordiality." The noble lord resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued cheering.

But we must return to the House of Commons. In the *Sporting Magazine* for 1865 we have the following description, under the title of "A Sportsman's Sketch of Lord Palmerston." The writer says—"Then we read of him as Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, settling a dispute at the Dover races, or taking the chair at the Tiverton race ordinary, and making that happy comparison between horses entered for the Derby and House of Commons 'colts.' Members generally made a point of dropping in to hear him move the adjournment of the House till Thursday, on the eve of 'the Isthmian games;' and his humour was rendered still more playful from the thought of how very little Mr. Bright or Mr. Hadley could appreciate the holiday. He was quite in his glory when he interfered, as leader of the House, between 'Portmanteau Peel' and 'The O'Donoghue;' and gravely



recounted to that somewhat troublesome Tamworth pupil the things which were to befall him, beginning thus: '*You will have an invitation.*' Taking only his little off-hand speeches out of the House, who was ever so happy? His definition of dirt to a deputation could give 7 lbs. to any philosopher's out. No one could hand over prizes to a school-girl or a labourer with a more pleasant word of encouragement; and no one, save a Loughboro' dominie, was found to dispute the justice of his condemnation of those very thin up and thick down-strokes which '*look like area railings on one side.*' If an opponent proposed the health of 'Her Majesty's Ministers,' he could freely assure him that there was no inconsistency in his conduct to wish them health, as they could hardly enjoy it in perfection *unless* they were relieved from the cares of office. Then, too, when that banquet was given to 'Old Charley' at the Reform Club, before he went to the Baltic, who but 'Pam' would have thought of roasting him about his specific for getting tup lambs? Who knew half so well as he did how to propose the health of the bridesmaids, '*whose champion I am;*' and no doubt he was more than equal to the occasion at the very last marriage that he attended, and hailed as his new nephew a bridegroom of seventy-two, who espoused a 'fair and forty' spinster. Be the occasion what it might, he said or did the right thing. Your 'London correspondent' delighted to eke out his 'copy' with a story of how, on one of those Saturday evenings at Cambridge House, where honey was put on the political wasps, one of them tumbled backwards into a flower-stand or flower-pot, and, sticking there, was extricated with the most comic condolence by his host; and how, when a lady in a Hampshire lane had undergone a most distressing accident to her crinoline, 'a gentleman, who proved to be the Premier of England, descended swiftly from his carriage, helped to pin her up, and insisted on driving her to her residence.' 'Just like him,' said every reader—'always on the spot.' Lord Aberdeen took occasion to point out, when he took the head of the coalition ministry, well-nigh thirteen years ago, that he was the younger man of the two; but, hard as he looked, the old Scotchman held life on a frailer tenure. 'Pam' then seemed comparatively buoyant and young; and we shall never forget the almost savage energy with which, at seventy-four, he jumped out of his brougham and strode across Westminster Hall, and through the folding-doors, when he came down to the House just after he had frittered away his great 'pluck' majority of '57, and let in Lord Derby once more. For years after that, he and the grey horse were seen busy with their constitutional in Rotten Row; and each walker turned his head as he passed the tall and erect old gentleman with the velvet-faced great-coat strolling up Piccadilly before dinner. Then he suddenly seemed to grow weaker, and there was more of the old man in his dress. Members shook their heads, and prophesied (as the opposition papers took care to let him know) that he would hardly meet another parliament, when, with his arm in a sling, he almost tottered across the lobby, leaning heavily on his stepson. If you saw him in his carriage by himself, his head was sunk deep on his bosom, as if life was a burden, and he only wished to be at rest. And so it was his lot to 'fade as the leaves do, and fall in October.' He died as he wished to die, with harness on his back. He had kept parliament together for six sessions."

In 1865, the sixth session of the sixth parliament of Queen Victoria was opened by commission. The queen's speech, which was read, began by congratulating both Houses on the birth of a son to the Prince of Wales. It then referred at some length to the affairs of Denmark and Greece; more shortly to the attack on Kagosima, in Japan; to the insurrection in New Zealand; and to the surrender of the Ionian Islands in the kingdom of Greece. It promised the House of Commons a due attention to economy in the preparation of the estimates; congratulated the Houses on the general prosperity of the country, notwithstanding the continued depression of the cotton trade, which it was trusted would be gradually relieved by increased supplies of the raw material from extended sources; announced the appointment of a commission for revising the forms



of subscription and declaration to be made by the clergy of the established church; and concluded with a prayer for the welfare and happiness of her loyal people.

An event occurred in 1863, which gave Lord Palmerston a considerable amount of trouble in this session of parliament. In December, at Paris, four Italians, named Greco, Imperatori, Trabuco, and Scaglioni, were arrested by the French police, charged with an intention of assassinating the emperor. On the 25th of January their trial took place. It was proved that, on their first entering France from Italy, they had been under the constant watch of the police, in consequence, it was said, of Trabuco being recognised as having been pointed out as a dangerous character in 1862. Greco at once admitted the fact, stating that the proposal had come from Mazzini, who had furnished the money, the explosive bombs (which were proved to be of a most dangerous character), and the weapons; and that no one had come between him and Mazzini. Trabuco confirmed Greco, saying that he had a life for his country which had been oppressed by the emperor. Imperatori declared that Greco had drawn him into the plot by degrees; and Scaglioni pleaded that he had been drawn into it by Imperatori. All were found guilty—Greco and Trabuco sentenced to transportation; Imperatori and Scaglioni to twenty years' imprisonment.

As to Mazzini's connection with the plot, few placed much credence in the statement; but it was known that Mazzini was a friend of Mr. Stansfeld's, and that Mr. Stansfeld was one of Lord Palmerston's most promising colleagues. The opportunity for damaging the ministry was too valuable not to be made the most of by the Conservative party.

James Stansfeld, Esq., M.P. for Halifax—a Junior Lord of the Admiralty, where he won great fame by his mastery of details, heretofore considered incomprehensible—belonged to the advanced Liberalism, without whose support even Lord Palmerston would have found it difficult to hold his ground. The nation, wearied of seeing perpetually the same men in office—men who had been useful in their day, but who were now a little inclined to lag behind—demanded fresh blood; and, in deference to this demand, Mr. Stansfeld had been placed in a subordinate office in the ministry. The selection was judicious, as Mr. Stansfeld had already won a position in the House, and, out-of-doors, was held in high esteem, as an exponent of principles and practices more in conformity with the spirit of the age than those of timid Whig noblemen, long past, not merely the freshness and ardour of youth, but the prime of life. Born in 1820; educated at University College, London; an LL.B. of the London University; called to the bar of the Inner Temple in 1846, Mr. Stansfeld's youth had passed amidst circumstances which made all men of intellect and generous disposition ardent politicians. In his boyhood the Reform Bill had been carried, and the middle classes admitted to the possession of political power. In his youth, he had seen the misery created by the corn-laws, made, in spite of the people, by the landlords in their own parliament, and for their own ends. As the evils of class legislation had been gradually removed, he had seen the welfare and the happiness of the nation increased. In many ways, before he was a M.P., he had been noted in London for the zeal and ability with which he had pleaded the cause of oppressed nationalities; and to the great work of Italian regeneration, especially, he had cheerfully given his time, his talent, and his worldly goods. Quite unexpectedly he was returned to parliament in 1859. His place was on the benches below the gangway, side by side with Cobden and Bright, who gave a cordial welcome to so able an ally. There were those who complained somewhat of the narrowness of the Manchester school, and who saw, in the member for Halifax, signs of an intellect more cultivated, and of a wider range of thought. As he made his way in the House they rejoiced; and were not sorry to see him placed on the Treasury benches, believing that there, in time he would occupy a more important position, and one in which he could give effect to the principles he and they held

dear. But Mr. Stansfeld was a friend of Mazzini's; and as he was no scion of a noble house—"no tenth transmitted of a foolish face"—it was deemed fair to hunt him down. Mazzini was, it was said, at least an assassin. Consequently Mr. Stansfeld was the friend of an assassin—of a man who recommended the assassination of our faithful ally, the French emperor. Was such a one to be tolerated on the Treasury benches? English people are very sensitive in such matters. It had been charged against Mr. Huskisson, that he had been a member of the French National Convention; and the stigma, as it was deemed, was never lost sight of by his political opponents. But to brand Mr. Stansfeld as a friend of assassins, was not merely to drive him from office, but to extinguish a promising career. The attempt was made; but, fortunately, failed.

On March 17th, a Norfolk baronet, Sir H. Stracey, moved a resolution, that "The statement of the Procureur-general, on the trial of Greco, implicating a member of the House, and of her majesty's government, in the plot for the assassination of our ally, the Emperor of the French, deserves the serious consideration of this House." Mr. Stansfeld denied any participation in the plot; expressed his belief that the accusation against Mazzini was equally unfounded; generously declared that he was proud of his friendship; explained his relation with that gentleman, who, he said, had letters for him addressed to his house, under the name of Flower, but of the contents of which he (Mr. Stansfeld) was ignorant: adding that, on accepting office, he had ceased to have any so addressed. After a debate of some length, the House divided—161 in favour, and 171 against the resolution. Lord Palmerston, with his usual pluck, defended his colleague. His lordship always did defend his colleagues; and the House liked him better for it. Again the subject was referred to, in consequence of a question put by Mr. Cox, M.P. for Finsbury—a man whose position in the House had been a source of laughter to many. Mr. Cox had better have been quiet. At the next election, his conduct on the occasion lost him his seat; and Finsbury felt herself no longer disgraced.

The Conservatives were beaten; but the calumnious charge was still the talk of country squires and rival M.P.'s all that Easter vacation. On reassembling, which the House did on April 4th, Mr. Stansfeld announced that, believing, from the manner in which he had been attacked with reference to his friendship for Mazzini, that his retention of office would be an embarrassment to the ministry, he had resigned. Lord Palmerston said that he was quite convinced of the complete innocence of his honourable friend, and regretted his loss as a colleague of unswerving integrity and untiring industry: and thus the matter was settled. The Duke of Somerset, the First Lord of the Admiralty, it was said, much regretted Mr. Stansfeld's resignation. As regarded the public, the M.P. for Halifax had gained rather than lost in popularity.

In a few days after, Lord Palmerston was deprived of another of his ablest allies. On April the 12th, Lord Robert Cecil moved a resolution, that the mutilation of the reports of the inspectors of schools was a violation of the understanding under which the appointment of inspectors had been originally sanctioned. He stated cases in which the information thus given had been withheld; and maintained that, as presented, the reports were not trustworthy. Mr. Lowe denied that the reports were garbled, but that when the inspectors diverged into discussion—gave arguments instead of reporting facts—they were returned to them for correction. Mr. Walter, and others, took part in the debate, asserting that passages in the reports were marked; and the resolution was carried by 101 to 93. In the House of Lords, a few days after, Earl Granville, referring to the resolution passed by the Commons, defended the council of education from the censure passed upon it. He said that, as President of the Council, he was the responsible person, morally and officially; and he denied, as Mr. Lowe had done, that reports had been mutilated. He trusted that a committee would be granted, in which all the circumstances would become known; and he had no fear of the result. On the same day, in the House of Commons, Mr. Lowe stated that, in consequence of the



vote of April the 12th, he had resigned the office of Vice-President of the Board of Education; but he thought that the vote, which he considered imputed to him a want of veracity, had been passed in mistake. Lord R. Cecil disclaimed the intention of impeaching Mr. Lowe's veracity. Lord Palmerston, in his characteristic manner, regretted the resignation of Mr. Lowe, which all his colleagues had endeavoured earnestly to prevent. On May the 12th, Sir George Grey moved for a select committee, to inquire into the practice of the committee of council of education, with respect to the reports of the inspectors of schools; rendered desirable, he said, in consequence of the resolution of the House on April the 12th, which had been arrived at under a mistake. Sir J. S. Pakington moved an amendment for extending the scope of the inquiry; which, after a discussion, in which the justification of Mr. Lowe was allowed to have been complete, was rejected by 142 to 93.

Some few attempts were made to get partial reforms carried, but the anti-reform feeling of the House was too strong for them to succeed. Mr. Locke King's bill to extend the franchise in counties to occupiers of the annual value of £10 was rejected. Mr. Baines's bill to reduce the borough franchise from £10 to £6 met with a similar fate, in spite of the support of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on the ground of the moral character and material progress of the middle and working classes, and the desirability of deciding such questions before any popular agitation should arise. Nor was Mr. Berkeley more successful with the ballot. His motion that, at the next general election, "it was expedient that a fair trial should be given to the vote by ballot," was rejected by 212 to 123. Lord Palmerston opposed it, as inconsistent with the character of Englishmen.

Out of the House it began to be whispered that ministers were getting a little shaky. Under Lord Palmerston's rule, the House of Commons, which had been elected with the idea of carrying a satisfactory and comprehensive measure of reform, had exhibited a stronger Conservative feeling every day. The Liberals themselves, in many instances, consequently gave his lordship a reluctant and grudging support. That fidelity to party obligations which had characterised the political history of England, from the days of the Revolution to the passing of the Reform Bill, had, in a great measure, disappeared. By many of the Liberals—that is, by all who ranged themselves under the banner of John Bright—the Premier was considered a Tory, from whom nothing of a truly liberal character was to be expected; and by many a Tory Lord Palmerston was maintained in office, as a barrier against further concessions to the spirit of the age. It was also understood that many of the country gentlemen, headed by Mr. Newdegate, mostly preferred the sway of Lord Palmerston to that of their necessary leader, Mr. Disraeli; and thus no organised effort had been made by the opposition for his overthrow.

In July the ministry had to sustain a fierce attack. A formidable attempt was made to turn them out by Mr. Disraeli, who moved, on the 4th, that "a humble address be presented, to thank her majesty for directing the correspondence on Denmark and Germany, and the protocols of the conference recently held in London, to be laid before parliament. To assure her majesty that we have heard, with deep concern, that the sittings of that conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important purposes for which it was convened. To express to her majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her majesty's government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the councils of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities of peace." It is to be feared that the charge, the very serious charge, thus formally enunciated, was not altogether baseless. However, it is clear that a Conservative ministry would not have acted a bit better than did the one of which Lord Palmerston was the head. The debate was adjourned for four nights; Messrs. Cobden, Layard, and Osborne respectively moving the adjournment. All the leading men in the House spoke on the question. At the end of the debate the House divided on the





useless. The imprudent outburst, perhaps, betrayed the impatience of the leaders and organs of the government, at the restraint which may have been imposed on their activity by cautious colleagues. The eagerness of Mr. Disraeli to expose Lord Palmerston's indiscretion, implied a doubt whether parliament could be induced to condemn the general policy of the government; but the opposition had no longer a choice between the loss of a great opportunity, and a regular party engagement. At a meeting in Lord Salisbury's house, on the following day, it was resolved that Mr. Disraeli should move a vote of censure; and the first week in July was occupied with the most remarkable debate which has occurred in the present parliament. The advantages of full parliamentary discussion were never more thoroughly exemplified. Although the merits of the controversy, the conduct of the belligerents, and the policy of neutral powers had been sifted and illustrated by innumerable writers, the question was not exhausted until conflicting opinions were brought into immediate juxtaposition. On the last day of the debate, Lord Malmesbury moved a similar vote of censure in the House of Lords; and, accordingly, almost every prominent member of either House was enabled to share in the discussion. The subject admitted of many independent methods of treatment; and successive speakers profited by the occasion, not only to support their respective parties, but, at the same time, to advocate their own peculiar opinions, and to assert their positions in any future political combinations which might result from the division. Mr. Disraeli opened the debate by one of those laborious essays with which he is accustomed, from time to time, to counteract the prejudice which may attach to brilliancy and genius. Foreseeing that he would have room for epigrammatic personalities in his reply, he chose, in his opening act of accusation, to be prolix, documentary, and tedious. He proved, by copious extracts from the published correspondence, that Lord Russell had lectured the Danes, and warned the Germans; and it was unnecessary to show that good advice had in both cases been wasted. There is always a presumption that failure is the consequence of error or incapacity; and the House of Commons was not disinclined to condemn diplomatic transactions which had become profoundly unpopular: but Mr. Disraeli was compelled to disclose, both in his language and in his reticence, the inherent weakness of his case. The government was, in substance, charged with the ignominious maintenance of peace; and the opposition was not ready to pledge itself to war. Mr. Disraeli virtually admitted that, if he had been in office, he would have insisted on the treaty of 1852; and that, nevertheless, he would ultimately have acquiesced in a compromise, or connived at the violence of Austria and Prussia. The only alternative which he suggested consisted in a deference to the Emperor of the French, which would have been even more unpalatable to the House and to the nation than the ministerial policy. Retrospective criticism fell comparatively dead when there was no opportunity of choice. The vote of censure on the government became a vote of confidence in the opposition; and, consequently, not a single Liberal member for Great Britain found an excuse for deserting his party. Mr. Gladstone answered his rival with his wonted superiority of oratorical fertility and dialectic force. With the readiness of a consummate advocate, he confuted Mr. Disraeli by the context of his own citations; and he persuaded himself, and almost convinced his audience, that Lord Russell's changes of tone, from defiance to regret, had been consistent expressions of a uniform policy deliberately adapted to circumstances. His apology assumed, that down to January last, menacing language was justified by French co-operation; and that the English government had exercised a dignified reserve from the moment at which it found itself alone. As the distinction was not wholly imaginary, the supporters of the government applauded the fluent exposition of a theory which seemed to reconcile their consciences with their votes; and this expression lasted, though subsequent speakers tried to show that Denmark had relied on the separate assistance of England, both before and after the avowed secession of France.



"The principal members of the opposition displayed a vigour and ability which, in some degree, justified their pretensions to office. General Peel, who is regarded by a section of his party as the destined successor of Mr. Disraeli, delivered an animated and effective speech against the pacific policy of the government. Lord Stanley, in consistency with the opinions which he has uniformly professed, commanded the attention of the House, and the applause of his own party, by an able argument for peace. The government was assailable in both directions, as its opponents found it convenient to censure either the vigour of the earlier despatches or the final adherence to neutrality; but in politics, as in war, converging attacks are seldom dangerous, as the defence is conducted on interior lines. Lord Stanley's able speech was chiefly remarkable as an announcement, after a lengthened silence, that his anomalous connexion with the Conservative party still formally exists. Among the opposition speakers who have scarcely yet attained to the front rank, the most conspicuous were Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Hardy, both of whom may expect to occupy places in Lord Derby's future government. In a spirited encounter with Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Hardy sustained the character of an acute and popular debater. Lord Robert Cecil would, perhaps, have been a more formidable antagonist if he had conformed less scrupulously to the requirements of party. From a careful, if not impartial, study of the dispute, he had emerged a vehement partisan of Denmark and of war. Ambitious, indefatigable, and indomitably pugnacious, he had still to earn the confidence which is seldom accorded to undisciplined energy. Lord Robert Cecil's political associates, however, have, perhaps, discovered that his vehemence arises not from impracticable enthusiasm, but from a polemical temperament, and a logical preference of extremes. Advancing years, and the enforced silence of office, will, probably, hereafter correct the impatient vivacity which sometimes disturbs parliamentary conventions. In the great party debate, Lord Robert Cecil distinguished himself by extracting from the correspondence some damaging quotations which had escaped the industry of his predecessors.

"The occasion was unusually favourable to independent or unattached politicians; for it was possible, without scandal, to speak against the government, and to vote against the opposition. Mr. Kinglake strove to reduce Mr. Disraeli's cumbrous resolution to a simple issue. Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Horsman, and Mr. Osborne, may, perhaps, not be desirous of places in the cabinet; but they fully understand the immunities of non-official Liberalism. The ministers had the advantage of seeing their foibles dissected by three of the ablest representatives of as many classes of friendly critics. Mr. Roebuck is a plain-spoken person; Mr. Horsman is, as Mr. Disraeli said, a superior person; and Mr. Osborne is a privileged person, and a 'chartered libertine' in debate. The imbecility of Lord Russell, the folly and incapacity both of the government and the opposition, and the amusing disquisitions on the part of these volunteer 'advocates of the accuser.' Mr. Cobden, with equally bitter feelings of animosity against the government, pursued a worthier object, in profiting by the temporary discredit of diplomacy, to recommend his favourite theory of political isolation, and of exclusive national devotion to the pursuit of gain. It is seldom pleasant to be the object of elaborate invectives, or even of improving moral demonstrations; but Lord Palmerston, whose experience and sagacity secure him from undue sensitiveness, may probably have felt that no better service could be done to his government, than to utter, with amplification, all the latent dissatisfaction which had endangered the allegiance of his party, while it had nerved the energies of his opponents. There was no danger that the House would adopt Mr. Osborne's jokes or Mr. Roebuck's exaggerations in practical earnest. Mr. Cobden's theories were still less to be feared; and Mr. Disraeli and his allies had been forced to admit their want of a distinctive policy. The ministerial speeches, with the exception of Mr. Gladstone's, had not been remarkable. Mr. Layard contrived, in some instances, to offend



the prejudices of the House; and the Attorney-general, who has deserved and acquired a great parliamentary reputation, was unusually feeble. Lord Palmerston, at the close of the debate, seeing victory within his reach, boldly passed from the immediate question to an enumeration of the merits and services of his government; and challenged the opposition on the issue of public confidence in the contending parties. A majority of eighteen, secured notwithstanding the defection of several Roman Catholic members, formed almost a dramatic conclusion to the events of the session. There is now little doubt, that the ministry which came in with the parliament will witness its natural close. The discussion in the House of Lords was shorter; and, on the whole, it was more advantageous to the government. In Lord Derby's absence, the conduct of the attack devolved on Lord Malmesbury; and Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon spoke with higher authority than Mr. Layard, or even than Mr. Gladstone. The peers who were present at the debate gave the government a small majority; and although the balance was reversed by the employment of proxies, the collective verdict of parliament amounts to condonation, if not to approval, of the ministerial policy."

As we have given none of Lord Palmerston's speeches on Danish affairs, the present is an appropriate time for the insertion of the one he delivered on July 2nd.

Lord Palmerston, in presenting, by command of her majesty, the protocols relating to the proceedings of the conference, observed that there never was an occasion on which a minister of the crown had to make a statement to the House of Commons and the public upon a subject in which the feelings, the sympathies, and, he might say, the anxiety of the country were more deeply engaged. He had, however, simply to communicate to the House a short abstract of the proceedings of the conference, contained in the papers to be laid upon the table. He proceeded, first, to give a general outline of the transactions which had led to the Dano-German quarrel. He described the circumstances out of which the treaty of 1852 had arisen, which contained arrangements assented to by the chief European powers; the object of that treaty, to which certain powers did not assent; the diplomatic negotiations which followed the treaty; their objects and results. "If all the parties," he remarked, "had been actuated by a spirit of justice, no complications would have taken place; but events happened which, the German powers contended, contravened engagements; and during the discussions the late King of Denmark died. Fresh subjects of dispute then arose between the Federal Diet and Denmark; and her majesty's government urged that of Denmark to adopt certain measures which would place it in the right; and it did so. But the Diet alleged that a question had existed as to the title to the duchy of Holstein, and decided to occupy that duchy. He was of opinion that the Diet had assumed an authority which did not belong to it. Execution was, however, decreed by the Diet, and Federal troops entered the territory to enforce an execution unjust in itself. Then arose the question of the pretensions of the Duke of Augustenburg, and the Germans determined to enter Sleswig, and to hold it as a material guarantee. When the Federal troops entered Holstein, the Danes refrained from offering any resistance to them. In Sleswig, however, their feelings were so strong that they were resolved to resist, and did so against superior numbers. Up to the occupation of Holstein, all the parties to the treaty of 1852 continued to adhere to its stipulations, and even Prussia did not dispute its binding nature. Military operations, with which the House was familiar, had led to the occupation of the whole of Sleswig and part of Jutland. A conference was proposed to consider means of re-establishing peace, which was agreed to. On the 25th of April the conference met, and continued its labours till last Saturday. The first proposal was for a suspension of hostilities, and, after some delay, agreed to, for a month. The belligerent powers were then asked what conditions were required to put an end to the war. Difficulties then appeared as to the proposals, the nature of which he explained. The neutral powers agreed to propose a line of separation in Sleswig, and they proposed that of



the Schlei, which they considered a fair one, giving Denmark a proper frontier. This proposal was accepted by Denmark, but refused by the German powers, who required another line. Time pressed, and the neutral powers urged a prolongation of the suspension of hostilities. With much difficulty an extension of a fortnight was obtained, which expired on Sunday. Throughout the conference perfect unanimity had subsisted among the representatives of the neutral powers. As Earl Russell had been chosen president of the conference, all the proposals were made in his name, but they were to be considered as proposals of all the neutral powers; and this was a very important matter. Seeing, apparently, no possibility of getting the belligerent powers to agree upon a line of separation, they proposed that a question so narrow should be referred to arbitration. The German powers accepted the proposal on condition that they might, if they pleased, decline the line fixed upon by the arbitrator. The answer would have been more frank and candid if they had simply rejected the proposal. The Danes, on the other hand, declared against arbitration; they said they had accepted the line of the Schlei, and further they would not go. The French representative, by desire of his government, proposed another arrangement—namely, that an appeal should be made to the population of the intermediate district between the two lines. This proposal was negatived by Denmark. Thus the labours of the conference were brought to a close, and war was to begin again about a question involving, not the existence of a nation, but the possession of a comparatively small district. Then it became the duty of her majesty's government to consider seriously the course they should adopt. They were of opinion that, in this case, might had overridden right, and that the sympathy of the British nation generally was in favour of the Danes; and they should have been glad, if it were possible, to take part with Denmark. On the other hand, originally she had been in the wrong herself. The matter in dispute was small; and it was impossible to lose sight of the resistance which we should have to overcome. France had declined to take any active part in support of Denmark, and Russia the same. The whole brunt of the effort to dislodge the German troops from Holstein and Sleswig would fall upon this country alone. The government had therefore not thought it consistent with their duty to advise their sovereign to take such a course, and to recommend to parliament such an effort and such a sacrifice. He did not say that, if the war assumed a different character, and the existence of Denmark as an independent power was at stake, the position of this country would not be subject to reconsideration. If there should be any change in the policy of the government, it would be communicated in parliament, if it were sitting; and if not, it would be called together."

A minor debate was that which ensued on China, when the Manchester party and the Premier, as usual, came into collision. The occasion was Mr. Cobden's moving a resolution declaring that the policy of non-intervention, observed with regard to Europe and America, should also be observed with regard to China. It appears, that after beating the Chinese imperial forces, we were fighting their battles for them against the Taepings—a new set of rebels who had sprung up suddenly, and laid waste the fairest portions of the empire; and would, most probably, have carried all before them, had it not been for our aid. We had supplied the Chinese with gun-boats and naval officers. Mr. Cobden said he believed that no one representing this country in China was satisfied with the present state of things. The merchants were dissatisfied; Sir F. Bruce seemed no longer to have a policy; and our military commander recommended the abandonment of the policy which they had been led to believe was to re-establish the imperial government in China. Our object in China was simply trade. In the course which had been taken we had consulted neither our honour nor our interests. Our military operations had ended most unsatisfactorily, so far as our trade was concerned. China was the only country where we had sought to extend our trade by force of arms, and it was the only country where our trade had not progressed. He showed by figures that the trade had not increased; and commented on the reckless assertions to the contrary



which had been made by the Premier. He reviewed the course which had been taken with respect to China, and contended that the proper course would be to obtain another trading depôt like Hong-Kong. If that were done, trade would soon come to it. He feared that a similar policy to that which had been pursued in China was going to be followed in Japan. He expressed a strong hope that such would not be the case, and urged that the merchants should there confine themselves to the treaty ports. He concluded by moving his resolution.

Mr. Layard asked where and how they were to get the second trading station suggested by the hon. gentleman? He defended the policy of the government, and declared that under it our trade with China had largely increased. Our relations with that country were now greatly improved. All that the government had done, was to prevent the Taepings from entering the treaty ports. He defended generally the policy which had been pursued.

Lord Naas contended that we ought to have maintained strict neutrality. The policy we had pursued had been a failure. In proof of this he specially instanced Captain Sherard Osborne's expedition.

Mr. B. Cochrane and Mr. Liddell took a similar view.

Mr. Gregson did not think our relations with China were in an unsatisfactory state, nor did he think we had been the cause of the anarchy which prevailed in China.

After some remarks from Mr. Kinglake, Colonel Sykes, and other members,

Lord Palmerston defended the policy of the government. Our wars with China had been the natural consequence of communication between a highly-civilised and a half-civilised people. He justified the wars in which we had been engaged with that country, and said they would have been more frequent had not the monopoly of the East India Company been abolished. The effect of our policy had been to increase our trade; and those persons who wished, by a change of policy, to narrow our foreign markets, were, in fact, taking the bread out of the mouths of the working classes of this country, and depriving them of the means of earning it. He believed the course taken by the government had the approval of the country, and he was certain it would be of benefit to our commerce.

Mr. Bright severely denounced the manner in which the noble lord had dealt with the question. He had defended a policy which had been fraught with unutterable horrors, and had charged Mr. Cobden with disregard of the trading interests of the country, than which nothing could be more unjust. It was clear to every member of the House that a policy of intermeddling was a policy of idiocy.

The last session of parliament in which Lord Palmerston was destined to figure met on February the 7th. The queen's speech congratulated the Houses on the pacific condition of Europe, and lamented the continuance of the civil war in America; it next mentioned the hostile operations against one of the Japanese chiefs, which had ended in his submission; hopes were expressed for the speedy restoration of peace in New Zealand by the submission of the Maories, who, it was added, would be treated mildly and equitably. The speech next expressed satisfaction with the proposed confederacy of our North American colonies; promising that, when the conference of delegates had proposed a scheme, a bill should be laid before the Houses to carry it into effect. Congratulations were offered on the prosperous state of India, but with regret for the calamity experienced by Calcutta and other places from the storms of last November. Parliament voted £1,500,000 for the new law courts, between Carey Street and the Strand. On the motion of Mr. Doulton, a select committee was appointed to inquire into the best means of preserving for the public use the forests, commons, and open spaces in and around the metropolis. Mr. Baines made an unsuccessful attempt to carry his bill for the reduction of the borough franchise. Mr. Berkeley fared no better with his ballot. Ministers were beaten by the legal profession. In May, on going into committee

of supply, Mr. Denman moved a resolution, that the annual certificate duty paid by attorneys and solicitors should be abolished. It was opposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but carried, on a division, by 146 to 143. One sign of the times was the passing of an act for the more useful application of sewage in Great Britain and Ireland; another was one for the establishment of a fire brigade in the metropolis; another was the amendment of the laws of partnership, so that the advance of money by way of loan, to a person engaged, or about to engage, in trade, "upon a contract in writing with such person that the lender shall receive a rate of interest varying with the profits," shall not constitute partnership; another was an alteration in the management of Greenwich Hospital, in consequence of which the pensioners, or the majority of them, left it, preferring an increased allowance instead; another was to amend the law as to the subscriptions and declarations made, and oaths to be taken, by the clergy of the established church of England and Ireland. An act to amend the oaths taken by Roman Catholic members of parliament was not so successful; it was carried through the Commons, but rejected by the Lords, led by the Earl of Derby.

In April Mr. Gladstone made his financial statement for the year. He said, that the estimated expenditure, as contained in the Appropriation Bill, had been £67,000,000; while the actual expenditure had been less, to the amount of £611,000. The estimates of the revenue had been exceeded by the actual receipts in every branch, and the result was a clear surplus, after deducting £620,000 for fortifications, of £3,231,000. With this surplus he proposed to effect reductions which would occasion an estimated loss to the revenue, this year, of £3,778,000, and in the financial year, of £5,420,000. As usual, Mr. Gladstone demonstrated the benefit of the free-trade policy pursued by government ever since he had been in office; and the protectionists, or Conservatives, had little or nothing to say.

In March, this session, Mr. Pope Hennessy, as he had done repeatedly, brought the affairs of Poland under discussion. As this was the last utterance of Lord Palmerston on Polish affairs, we reprint his speech. His lordship said he regretted that the question had again been mooted. "The subject of Poland has been repeatedly discussed in this House. Now, it appears to me that there is a rule which ought to be strictly observed in bringing subjects forward for discussion. A motion of this nature ought only to be put upon the paper for the purpose of obtaining from the House, once and for all, a decisive expression of opinion, which may have the effect of influencing events; or for the purpose of justifying and obtaining from the government some action, with a view to giving effect to the opinion which it at the same time endeavours to extract from the House. Now, with reference to the first point, this subject has been repeatedly discussed in this House. The hon. and learned gentleman has himself this evening quoted opinions expressed on similar occasions to the present; so that, as far as a deliberate expression of opinion as to the conduct of Russia towards Poland is concerned, nothing can be added to what is already contained in the records of parliamentary proceedings; and any less vehement expression of feeling only tends to weaken instead of strengthening what has been done before. I think, therefore, that inasmuch as the object of the hon. gentleman was to obtain from the House a condemnation of the conduct of Russia towards Poland, he would have better consulted the interests of the country whose wrongs he deplores by allowing the matter to rest upon the recorded opinion of the House, instead of weakening his cause by conducting to the supposition that, by the way in which this debate is conducted, the interest excited in favour of the Poles has in any way subsided. As far as eliciting an opinion from the House is concerned, I think that the hon. gentleman has misjudged the course which he should have followed. Then with regard to the second point—a resolution in this respect should have the object of inducing the government of this country, acting upon the promptings of parliament, to interfere in the affairs of Poland for the protection of the Poles. This could be done either



diplomatically or by the employment of force. But the hon. member disclaims any desire that this country should go to war for Poland; and, as he says to-night, he never urged such a course upon the government. I willingly subscribe to that assertion. He especially always disclaimed any desire that anything falling from him should be construed into a wish on his part that there should be a war between England and Russia on behalf of Poland. But the hon. member, and with him many other hon. gentlemen in this House, earnestly recommended, on the part of the government, the employment of diplomatic exertions in favour of Poland. The government was not only asked to undertake this duty by itself, but we were strongly urged to enlist the other governments of Europe in our endeavour to persuade Russia faithfully to perform her engagements, and to adopt a different course with the Poles. That action was adopted by us, and failed; and because the result of those diplomatic exertions did not realise their anticipations, hon. gentlemen have made that very failure a matter of reproach to us. The natural feelings of the Russian people induced them to rally round their government. They considered those representations as implying an intention to coerce the independent action of a great nation; and so far from those representations producing any good result, I am afraid that they only tended to increase the irritation which existed in Russia against the Polish nation. Here, then, sir, the employment of force is disclaimed by the hon. member, after the failure of negotiations adopted by the advice and at the earnest entreaty of the hon. gentleman, and after the failure of similar representations made by nearly all the non-Polish governments of Europe, who had been induced to make these exertions by the influence of the English government. But the hon. gentleman is not deterred by his own disclaimer and by the failure of what he recommended, and he now propounds a third method of inducing Russia to perform her engagements—namely, that this House should make a declaration of forfeiture, and should withhold the payments to Russia stipulated by treaty. I would ask, however, what would be the value of a declaration made by this House that Russia had forfeited a right accruing to her by virtue of a European treaty. This House is not a treaty-making power; and this House, I most respectfully submit, is not a treaty-breaking power. If any treaty which the crown of England has contracted has been broken by the power with which the treaty was concluded, it rests with the crown to represent its claims, and, if necessary, to make war in their vindication; but I maintain that neither the crown nor any one power has the right, by its own declaration, to emancipate itself from obligations contracted with another power. Therefore, the first part of the hon. member's motion, declaring that the Emperor of Russia has forfeited his rights to Poland, in consequence of his non-compliance with the engagements of the treaty of Vienna, would be a declaration unattended by any practical value, and inconsistent, as I think, with the dignity of the House and the respect which it owes itself. Then the hon. member makes another proposal. He proposes, in consideration of the violation by Russia of the engagements of the treaty of Vienna, of June, 1815, the discontinuance of the payment on account of the Russo-Dutch loan, which was stipulated to Russia, not by the treaty of June, 1815, but by the treaty of the May preceding; and, therefore, in no way connected with the Polish engagements. That engagement on our part had, I repeat, no connection whatever with Poland. The engagement in connection with the Russo-Dutch loan was undertaken on our part in consideration of Russia supporting the union of Holland and Belgium. The case of forfeiture was to be the failure of Russia to exert her force and means to maintain that union, if it could be maintained at all. Before the revolution in Belgium no question could arise; but when that revolution had taken place, and a conference of the five powers assembled, the governments of England and of France, under the circumstances, were of opinion that it was hopeless to expect that the union, which had been broken by the insurrection, could be re-established with any advantage to Europe, or any prospect of permanence. Russia, Austria, and Prussia were of a different opinion.



They wished the union to be re-established by force; and one great object of the conference was to press upon those three powers to acquiesce in what we considered to be a fact irreversible, except at the risk of a general European war. Russia very reluctantly consented to do that which the English government wished—to agree to the separation of Belgium from Holland: but then Russia said—

“By the letter of the treaty, by the separation of Belgium from Holland, if not prevented by Russia, or if Russia has not used her best efforts to prevent it, she forfeits the payment to her of the amount insured to her on account of the Russo-Dutch loan; and, therefore, as it is at the request of England, at her earnest desire, that we consent to the abandonment of the union, it would be the height of injustice for England to deprive us of the annual payments which, under the former treaty, she undertook to make to us.”

“That observation was so entirely just and equitable, that the English government had no answer to make; and a new treaty was signed, agreeing that the payments should be continued, upon Russia consenting to the separation of Belgium from Holland; and that in case, at any future time, a different arrangement should be contemplated, Russia should not concur in such arrangement without the consent of Great Britain; pointing to some different position of Belgium, which might be deemed inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain. But for us to turn round now, and to say to Russia, ‘Because you, Russia, have misconducted yourself with regard to Poland; because you have broken the engagements in the treaty of June, 1815, with regard to Poland, we are therefore to break our engagements founded upon a different treaty, and based upon wholly different considerations,’ would be to do that which, I hope, this House and the government would ever be ashamed of even contemplating as possible. But see to what an impotent conclusion the hon. and learned gentleman comes. He is eloquent upon the wrongs of Poland, which nobody denies; declaring that great European rights have been violated; asserting that in which I do not concur—that wherever there is a right there is an obligation to enforce that right. I deny that proposition altogether. Where there is a right, there is also a discretion to enforce it or not, according to circumstances—to the facility or the difficulty of the task. But see, again, to what an impotent conclusion the hon. gentleman comes. Here is an hon. member who arraigns Russia before the tribunal of the world for breaking her engagements, for acting the tyrant towards a deservedly commiserated people, and for having committed cruelties which, in a former motion upon this subject, he designated in terms which were not, as I thought, very proper for this House to adopt; but, having arraigned Russia for one of the greatest crimes recorded in history, as my hon. and gallant friend behind me has stated, the hon. member thinks it would be consistent with the dignity of this great country to sounce Russia of a payment of some £70,000 a year. If the breach of engagements on the part of Russia be such as the hon. member thinks, and as other hon. members agree with him in thinking it to be, then that might be a cause of war; we might take up arms, if we could do so with effect, to vindicate the rights of Poland, and the engagements of the violated treaties; but I must say it would be a thing altogether unworthy of this House, and unbecoming to the country, that we should show our sense of a great European wrong by putting into our pockets, instead of paying into the Russian treasury, a sum which, by a solemn treaty, we had undertaken to pay to Russia. Whatever might be the feelings of the House, it would be a clear violation of an engagement—an engagement wholly distinct from the question of Poland—one not to be affected at all by the conduct of Russia towards Poland; and, therefore, I hope that this House will not agree to the motion of the hon. gentleman; inasmuch as I think a record of its opinion upon the conduct of Russia has been sufficiently made in its debates; and the means by which the hon. gentleman proposes to give effect to that opinion, is one that it is not fitting to the dignity of the House, or the good faith of the country, to adopt.”



In April, the great free-trader, and apostle of peace—Richard Cobden—died. On the order of the day for going into committee of supply, Lord Palmerston, evidently under strong emotion, said—"Mr. Speaker, it is impossible for this House to have that order put, without calling to its mind the great loss which this House and the country have sustained by the event which took place yesterday morning. Sir, Mr. Cobden, whose loss we deplore, occupied a prominent position, both as a member of this House and as a member of the British nation. I do not mean, in the few words I have to say, to disguise or to avoid stating that there were many matters upon which a great number of people differed from Mr. Cobden, and I among the rest; but those who differed from him the most, never could doubt the honesty of his purpose, or the sincerity of his convictions. They felt that his object was the good of his country, however they might differ on particular questions from him as to the means by which that end was to be accomplished. But we all agree in burying in oblivion every point of difference, and think only of the great and important services he rendered to our common country. Sir, it is many years ago since Adam Smith elaborately and conclusively, as far as argument could go, advocated, as the fundamental principles of the wealth of nations, freedom of industry, and unrestricted exchange of the objects and results of industry. These doctrines were inculcated by learned men—by Dugald Stewart and others; and were also taken up, in process of time, by leading statesmen, such as Mr. Huskisson, and those who agreed with him: but the barriers which long-established prejudice, honest and conscientious prejudice, had raised against the practical application of those doctrines for a long series of years, prevented their coming into use as instruments of progress in the country. To Mr. Cobden it was reserved, by his untiring industry, his indefatigable personal activity, the indomitable energy of his mind, and, I will say, that forcible and Demosthenic eloquence with which he treated all the subjects which he took in hand—it was reserved to Mr. Cobden, aided, no doubt, by a great phalanx of worthy associates—by my right hon. friend the President of the Poor-Law Board, and by Sir R. Peel, whose memory will ever be associated with the principles Mr. Cobden so ably advocated—it was reserved, I say, to Mr. Cobden, by exertions which never were surpassed, to carry into practical application those abstract principles, with the truth of which he was so deeply impressed, and which, at last, gained the acceptance of all reasonable men in the country. He rendered an inestimable and enduring benefit to our country by the result of those exertions. But great as were Mr. Cobden's talents, great as was his industry, and eminent as was his success, the disinterestedness of his mind more than equalled all of these. He was a man of great ambition; but his ambition was to be useful to his country: and that ambition was amply gratified. When the present government was formed, I was authorised graciously by her majesty to offer to Mr. Cobden a seat in the cabinet. Mr. Cobden declined; and frankly told me, that he thought he and I differed a good deal upon many important principles of political action; and therefore he could not, either comfortably for me or for himself, join the administration of which I was the head. I think he was wrong: but this I will say of Mr. Cobden, that no man, however strongly he may have differed from him upon general political principles, or the application of those principles, could come into contact with him without carrying away the strongest personal esteem and regard for the man with whom he had the misfortune not entirely to agree. Well, sir, the two great achievements of Mr. Cobden were, in the first place, the abrogation of those laws which regulated the importation of corn, and the great development which that gave to the industry of the country; and the commercial arrangements which he negotiated with France, which paved the way and tended greatly to extend the intercourse between the two countries. When that achievement was accomplished, it was my lot to offer to Mr. Cobden—not office, for that I knew he would not take, but to offer him those honours which the crown can bestow—a baronetcy and the rank of a Privy Councillor; honourable distinctions which it would



have gratified the crown to bestow for important services rendered to the country, and which I think it would not have been at all derogatory for him to accept. But the same disinterested spirit which actuated all his conduct, whether in private or in public, led him to decline even the acknowledgments which would properly have been made for the services he had rendered. Well, sir, I can only say that we have sustained a loss which every man in the country will feel. We have lost a man who may be said to have been peculiarly emblematical of the constitution under which we have the happiness to live; because he rose to great eminence in this House, and acquired an ascendancy in the public mind, not by virtue of any family connexion, but solely and entirely by means of the power and vigour of his mind, that power and vigour being applied to purposes eminently advantageous to the country. Sir, Mr. Cobden's name will be for ever engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of this country; and I am sure there is not one in this House who does not feel the deepest regret that we have lost one of its proudest ornaments, and that the country has been deprived of one of her most useful servants." Let us add, that in this generous eulogy, Lord Palmerston, whose remarks were greeted with cordial cheers, was not alone. The eminent leader of the opposition joined in a few graceful words. Perhaps, for the first time in the House, Cobden's friend and faithful colleague, John Bright, commanded the sympathies of all his hearers. His speech was short, yet eloquent. Evidently overwhelmed with grief, and scarcely able to speak on account of it, he said—"I feel that I cannot address the House on this occasion. Every expression of sympathy which I have heard has been most grateful to my heart; but the time which has elapsed since I was present when the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever actuated or tenanted the human form took its flight is so short, that I dare not even attempt to give utterance to the feelings by which I am oppressed. I shall leave it to some calmer moment, when I may have an opportunity of speaking to some portion of my countrymen the lesson which, I think, will be learnt from the life and character of my friend. I have only to say that, after twenty years of most intimate and most brotherly friendship with him, I little knew how much I loved him until I found that I had lost him." Well might Mr. Bright be sad. In the storm and battle of parliamentary life, he well knew that he could never have such a one by his side again.

One of Lord Palmerston's last speeches in the House was to announce the resignation of the Lord Chancellor. This reminds us that we must here give the history, as it was termed, of the Westbury scandal.

On March 7th, the Lord Chancellor explained to the House of Lords the circumstances connected with the resignation of Mr. L. Edmunds, of the offices of clerk of the patents, clerk of the commissioners of patents, and reading clerk of the House of Lords. He said that Mr. Edmunds had been accused of defalcation in his office of clerk of the patents; an investigation had taken place; Mr. Edmunds had paid over £7,872, which, he said, was all that was due; but that there were other claims amounting to £9,100. He (the Lord Chancellor) had intended laying these facts before the House immediately on its assembling; but delayed doing so at the request of Mr. Edmunds, who, after a few days, sent in his resignation. On consulting with the law-officers of the crown, he found there were no grounds for a criminal prosecution, and, therefore, he suffered Mr. Edmunds' petition for a retiring pension to be presented to a committee of the House, who had granted him £800 a year, which grant would only be in force according to the result of the investigation for which he was about to move. He added, that the office of clerk of the patents, which required to be filled immediately, had been given to his son, as also that of reading clerk to the House. The Earl of Derby thought that undue haste had been used in accepting the resignation; the facts should have been laid before the House, which would then have decided whether the misconduct in one office should involve the loss of the other. He hoped, however, that the investigation would be a searching one, and



would extend to every transaction involved. No vote was taken, but a committee of inquiry was appointed. This was the least that could have been done. Public suspicion had been aroused, and most alarming rumours were in circulation.

In the Westbury scandal many were involved. Mr. Edmunds, it appears, was appointed to the clerkship of patents in 1833, during the Chancellorship of Lord Brougham, at a salary of £400 a year. The *Times* asserted, "that three-fourths of that salary—in other words, £300 a year—have been, from that time to the present, paid over, under the direction of Mr. William Brougham, the brother of Lord Brougham, and late Master in Chancery—£100 to Mr. William Brougham himself, and £200 to keep down the interest of a mortgage of £5,000 on the landed property of Lord Brougham. If this transaction be admitted to be blameless, it will be made clear that the profits of public offices are to be appropriated, not to those who discharge their duties, but in some way or other for the benefit of the persons by whom they are conferred. Then, as regards the defalcations of Mr. Edmunds, there was a culpable laxity. The charge is, that fees have been received on behalf of the public, which fees should at once have been paid over to the Exchequer." How came it, people asked, that Mr. Edmunds should be able to retain such fees in his own hands; and that he was allowed to resign, and to resign with a retiring pension, as if, instead of being a defaulter to a large extent, he had served the public faithfully and well? There the Chancellor was much to blame. It was certain that Mr. Edmunds, instead of being prosecuted, as he should have been, was allowed to resign his situation; that his petition for a pension was presented by the Lord Chancellor, and that a pension was granted him. It was not denied that the Lord Chancellor, who presented the petition, had official knowledge of the case; nor did the members of the committee assert that they were in ignorance of the rumours which were in circulation. They must have known that Mr. Edmunds, by his conduct, had forfeited all claim to a pension; and whilst we blame them, we must blame the Chancellor much more, who must have known all the facts, and, by his silence in the matter, helped to lead the committee astray. It must be admitted, that all the noble lords who took part in the discussion, concurred in regretting, if not censuring, the reticence of the Lord Chancellor on this head. The fact that Mr. Edmunds thought proper, or, what is more probable, found it unavoidable, to make a clean breast of it, did not entitle him to stand in the position of a person void of offence; and though the propriety of using his confession to his prejudice in support of a criminal prosecution might have been questioned, it was unpardonable that he should be allowed to hold himself forth as a meritorious public servant entitled to a retiring pension. But when the Lord Chancellor designed the offices thus vacated for members of his own family, the course he pursued became still more imprudent. Altogether, the more the case was discussed the worse it seemed. The defence of the Chancellor was most unsatisfactory. He allowed an officer, guilty of misconduct, to evade legal trial; he allowed him to receive a pension; and he placed a relative of his own in the vacant office.

The report of the committee was very damaging to Lord Westbury. They expressed their regret that "Mr. Edmunds was allowed to resign, and thereby withdraw himself from the impending inquiry before the Lord Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor." They were of opinion, "that the inquiry ought to have proceeded; and if the charges which Mr. Edmunds had been formally called upon to answer had been established (as, in the judgment of the committee, the principal part of them must have been), he should at once have been dismissed, leaving it open to future consideration whether ulterior proceedings ought to have been taken against him." The committee considered the following four charges against Mr. Edmunds proved: the misapplication to other than public purposes of the discount on stamps purchased with public money; the retention, in his own hands, of fees received for patents; the transferring to his own account, and appropriating to his own use, certain sums of public money; lastly, the retaining, in his own hands, a sum of £399,

paid on behalf of a defaulting clerk, to make good deficiencies. The committee blamed the Lord Chancellor for suffering Mr. Edmunds to resign with a retiring pension. In their opinion, it was incumbent on him, who presented the petition of Mr. Edmunds to the House of Lords, in some manner to have apprised the parliament office committee of the circumstances under which the resignation of the clerkship had taken place, and with which the Lord Chancellor was officially acquainted, and not to leave them to decide the question of a pension, with no clearer light than that which could be derived from vague and uncertain rumours. "The committee, however, have no reason to believe that the Lord Chancellor was influenced by an unworthy or unbecoming motive in thus abstaining from giving information to the committee." With regard to the payment of £300 a year out of Mr. Edmunds' office, first to Mr. James, and then to Mr. William Brougham, the committee remark, that "the application of the money is immaterial; any private arrangement that a portion of the salary of a public officer, which is the remuneration of his services, shall be applied to the benefit of any other person, is a grave offence against public morality, and deserves the severest condemnation." They acquitted Lord Brougham of any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The committee rejected a paragraph which omitted all exculpation of the motives of the Lord Chancellor, by a majority of one—five Tories voting for it, and six Whigs against it; and they refused to recommend the House to reconsider its former opinion with regard to the pension of Mr. Edmunds.

But the matter was not allowed to rest here. The report, from which we have quoted; was laid on the table of the House of Lords, May 4th. On the 9th, on the motion of Earl Granville, the resolution of the House, for granting a retiring pension of £800 a year to Mr. Edmunds, was rescinded.

Further action was taken in the matter. In the House of Commons, on the 3rd of July, Mr. Hunt, in a speech of great extent, moved a resolution—"That the evidence given in the case of Leonard Edmunds, and in that of the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, showed a laxity of practice and want of caution, on the part of the Lord Chancellor, that was highly reprehensible, and calculated to throw discredit on the administration of the high offices of state." The Lord Advocate defended the judgment of the committee, which had absolved the Lord Chancellor from blame. Mr. Bouverie moved an amendment, acquitting the Lord Chancellor of any corrupt motives in the appointment to the Leeds Bankruptcy Court; but affirming that the granting of the pension was highly reprehensible, as showing a "laxity of practice and want of caution, with regard to the public interests, on the part of the Lord Chancellor in sanctioning the grant of retiring pensions to public officers against whom grave charges were pending." Mr. Hunt withdrew his amendment in favour of this; and, after a long debate, Mr. Bouverie's amendment was carried unanimously. Against the vote of the House of Commons, Lord Westbury found it impossible to stand.

Nor even here did the matter end. One of the persons implicated in these dirty transactions, was the Rev. Mr. Harding, rector of St. Anne's, Wandsworth; and a meeting of his parishioners was held in August, which almost unanimously censured his conduct. From the evidence, which came before the House of Commons, it appeared that an appointment was given to Mr. Welch in the Leeds Bankruptcy Court, by means of pecuniary inducements alone. According to the report, it appeared that a gentleman of the name of Welch, wishing to obtain an appointment in the gift of the Lord Chancellor, applied to the Hon. Richard Bethell to use his influence with his father to obtain the appointment; and a sum of £500 passed from the hands of Mr. Welch to Mr. Bethell, with a view to get that influence. Mr. Harding was employed by Mr. Bethell to go to Mr. Welch to get the money. Mr. Harding contended that there was a further sum of £1,000 to be paid by Mr. Welch on his getting the appointment: and the arrangement was, that Mr. Harding was to have one-third of that £1,000—namely, £333 6s. 8d. Mr. Bethell got into difficulties, and left the country because of



those difficulties. He did not obtain the £1,000 from Mr. Welch; but Mr. Harding applied for his third. The application was repudiated by Mr. Welch altogether. Mr. Harding then sent down another clergyman to Leeds to get the money. This journey was in vain. Mr. Harding then employed his solicitor; and intimated that the payment of the money would screen Mr. Welch from an exposure of the facts. He worked on the latter gentleman's fears, and succeeded in getting his claim satisfactorily settled. It was in evidence, that his clerical friend kept out of the way, to avoid being served with the Speaker's warrant. He had an interview with Mr. New, a respectable solicitor, who had put to him this practical question. Mr. New asked him if he had mentioned the matter to others. Mr. Harding said he had not. Then, said Mr. New, he knew from whom the anonymous letters he had received had proceeded; because nobody would have written them who did not know of the transaction. On this matter the committee reported as follows:—"Your committee have given the more prominent features and statements on this matter: for minute details they refer to the evidence of parties concerned. The statement of Mr. Harding is irreconcilable with those of Mr. Bethell and Mr. Welch. Mr. Harding's statement, if true, discloses a corrupt bargain between the three parties. If false, it is a gross attempt at extortion. One or other of these conclusions would be established by judicial investigation of the facts of the case; but as each of them involves the liability to a charge of a highly penal nature, your committee, not having the opportunity of examining witnesses upon oath, or of bringing the parties inculpated to a formal trial, purposely abstain from expressing an opinion as to which of the two views above mentioned should be adopted. They consider it their duty to observe, that the indisputable facts are such as to render it essential to the public interest, that the case should, as soon as possible, be made the subject of legal investigation." But, after all, no further steps were taken.

On July 5th, after the royal assent had been given by commission to 212 bills, the Lord Chancellor gave an explanation of his resignation; glanced at the measures of law reform he had introduced; and thanked the House for the kindness uniformly displayed towards himself. His bitterest opponents could have felt no resentment then. We are all poorer for the loss of great reputations, or when dishonour is done to a noble name. Happily for us the spectacle is as rare as it is sad. In public life seldom is any scandal able to sully the ermine of our great men. Lord Palmerston must have felt the shame and humiliation deeply. As Sir R. Bethell, the Lord Chancellor had lent him most efficient aid. He himself, in the matter of patronage, had been remarkably exempt from blame. Sorrowful, indeed, must his lordship have been as the Lord Chancellor, in his old age, resigned his stately office, and sailed away to bury his resentment and grief in a foreign land.

But the time was fast arriving when the Premier was to have done with such vexations and disappointments. On the 6th of July, the Commons were summoned, and the queen's speech was read by commission. It thanked the Houses for several of the measures they had passed, for the supplies voted, and for their attention to the business of the country. It congratulated them on the general prosperity, the beneficial results from remission of taxation, and the financial arrangements. It announced the friendly relations existing with all the European powers, and the cessation of the war in America. Finally, it announced the immediate dissolution of the House of Commons, and the issue of writs for a new election. Little thought M.P.'s, as they hastened home thus unusually early in the year—some to recruit in their pleasant houses, others to plunge into the turmoil of a contested election; almost all of them to swear that they would give to Lord Palmerston a cordial support—that never again should they look upon his face, or listen to his words; that, when next they met, he would no longer be their leader; that all of him which would remain to them then, would be the memory of his name and fame.

Our poet-laureate makes King Arthur say—

“The sequel of to-day unsoldiers all  
The goodliest fellowship of famous knights  
Whereof this world holds record. Such a sleep  
They sleep—the men I loved. I think that we  
Shall never more, at any future time,  
Delight our souls with talk of knightly deeds,  
Walking about the gardens and the halls  
Of Camelot.”

It may be that some such thought may have passed through the Premier's brain as, for the last time, he caught the Speaker's eye; or listened, for the last time, to the door-keeper's exclamation, “Who goes home?”

## CHAPTER XXII.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS, AND THE COLONIES.

SIDNEY SMITH, in one of his letters, complained terribly of the way in which Lord Melbourne suffered Lord Palmerston to do as he pleased; and intimated that, under Lord Grey, such license would not have been allowed. Earl Russell, we may imagine, as Lord Palmerston's Foreign Secretary, would, in his way, attempt to be as independent as Lord Palmerston. We cannot conceive, however, of the latter completely abandoning his favourite occupation of putting the continent to rights. The noble viscount's knowledge and experience, besides, must have been of great assistance to the earl, who understood reform questions better than those relating to foreign affairs. We may, therefore, presume that the policy pursued and recommended by Earl Russell was that of his chief, who would control and guide, especially in difficult and delicate matters, and would take care that the earl did not make the mistakes of which he was guilty when he went to Vienna. At the same time it must be confessed that the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston's later years was not that of his youth; that he had become far more peaceable and forbearing; that he had changed somewhat from what he was, when he had drank—

“Delight of battle with his peers,  
Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.”

It is difficult to write about foreign policy, which is always more or less contradictory and unintelligible; arising from the fact that, while from the nature of our parliamentary government it is too democratic for foreign princes, it is, from the same cause, too autocratic for foreign people. But it is clear that we had got into a transition state; and that we were constantly bewildered by the contradiction between our former interference and our latter practice of giving no practical aid to our friends, but only advice gratis, in which Earl Russell's art was great.

In October, 1862, there was a change in the government of Greece—King Otho was compelled to abdicate. Immediately afterwards Earl Russell communicated with the French and Russian governments, urging upon them that the protocols and treaties of 1829, 1830, and 1832, by which any member of the reigning families of the three powers was prohibited from occupying the throne of Greece, should be held binding. The Russian government agreed at once to this proposal; but the French government did so with a great deal of reserve. Lord Russell then wrote to our ambassador at Greece in these terms:—“Her majesty's



government have no desire to influence the decision which the Greeks may come to as to the choice of their new sovereign, except to remind them that, by the agreements and engagements entered into between France and England, and Russia, no person connected with the royal and imperial family of either of the three powers can be placed upon the throne of Greece." As soon, however, as Lord Russell saw Russia hesitating as to whether Prince Leuchtenburg was excluded, the candidature of Prince Alfred assumed a new character. The Greeks became more and more enthusiastic on behalf of the prince; and Lord Russell did nothing till December, when Mr. Elliot was despatched to Athens on a special mission. On the 5th of February, 1863, Mr. Elliot made this speech to a Greek deputation which waited on him:—

"I am charged by my government to notify to the provisional government of Greece, that her majesty's government have, with the concurrence of the Emperor of the French, agreed to recommend the Prince Ernest, of Saxe-Coburg, as a suitable candidate for the throne of Greece. The emperor eagerly accepted this proposition made by England; and Prince Ernest accepts the throne that is offered him, on condition that he shall continue to hold, so long as he may consider it desirable to do so, his hereditary states. The prince, once proclaimed King of Greece, will propose to the national assembly, as his successor, one of the sons of his cousin Augustus and the Princess Clementine, daughter of Louis Philippe, late King of France. This prince is seventeen years of age, and will be educated in the faith of the orthodox Greek church."

On the 4th, the national assembly of Greece declared the throne to be forfeited by King Otho and his family; and that Prince Alfred had been elected king of the Greeks by 230,000 votes. On the same day, it was stated in the *Coburg Zeitung*, that the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, who had been proposed, had finally declined its acceptance. In this dilemma England again commenced a search in favour of a suitable candidate. Nor was it long before one was found. Prince William George of Denmark was elected King of Greece by the national assembly, and on the 30th of March was, with the sanction of England and France, unanimously proclaimed as George I. On the 22nd of April, Prince Christian, of Denmark, announced that, the obstacles being removed, he accepted definitely the throne of Greece for his son. We did all we could to make his new kingship comfortable, and handed over to him the Ionian Islands, which had been placed under our care by the treaty of Vienna. In September, the Ionian assembly declared in favour of uniting the islands to the kingdom of Greece; returned thanks to Great Britain and Queen Victoria for benefits received, and for the realisation of the wishes of the people for a restoration of their nationality; and to the other protecting powers for their ready concurrence in the measure. In the same month the King of Greece, after having visited the Courts of France and England, arrived at Athens, and was enthusiastically received.

In October, 1861, without any expression of public opinion, we were all much surprised at learning that a convention had been signed at Lisbon, by the representatives of England, France, and Spain, for intervention in Mexico, to enforce certain pecuniary claims against the Mexican government. Our troops, as did those of Spain, soon came home again, when it was found that the aim of the French emperor was to establish a new form of government. Left to herself, France conquered Mexico, and placed an Austrian archduke, Maximilian—the only one of the archdukes at all popular, or who had shown any political ability—on the throne of the new empire; which, however, had no vitality. It was maintained alone by the French arms; and, as they were withdrawn, it fell.

We had, at this time, a little squabble with Brazil. The British legation at Rio Janeiro having demanded in vain an indemnity for the plunder of a British vessel wrecked on the coast, and also an apology for the imprisonment of some British naval officers, caused five merchant vessels to be seized. The vessels were

given up on an undertaking to pay the indemnity, to be settled in London; the other question was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Belgians. As we were clearly in the wrong, that sagacious monarch was not long in making up his mind. In his award, made known on the 18th of June, 1863, he said—"That, in the mode in which the laws of Brazil have been applied towards the English officers, there was neither premeditation of offence, nor offence, to the British navy."

In 1863, the aspect of the continent was unpleasant. Germany and Denmark were at loggerheads. Poland was in rebellion against Russia. Austria was, as usual, in financial and political difficulties. In short, there was every prospect of a European war. Under such circumstances, the Emperor of the French addressed the following letter to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, bearing date, Paris, November 4th:—

"Madam, my Sister,—In face of the events which daily arise, and press themselves on my attention, I deem it indispensable to impart my whole thoughts to the sovereigns to whom the destiny of nations is confided.

"On all occasions, when great convulsions have shaken the foundations and deranged the limits of states, solemn compacts have followed to reduce to order the new elements, and to recognise, while revising them, the changes that have been effected.

"Such was the object of the treaty of Westphalia in the seventeenth century, and of the negotiations of Vienna, in 1815. It is on this last foundation that the political edifice of Europe now rests; and, nevertheless, your majesty is not ignorant that it is crumbling to pieces on all sides.

"If one considers attentively the situation of the different countries, it is impossible not to admit that on almost all points the treaties of Vienna are destroyed, modified, disregarded, or menaced. Hence there are duties without rule, rights without title, pretensions without restraint—a peril the more formidable, since the improvements produced by civilisation, which has united peoples together by an identity of material interest, would render war still more destructive.

"This is a matter for serious reflection. Let us not delay taking a decision until sudden and irresistible events disturb our judgment, and draw us, in spite of ourselves, in opposite directions. I now, therefore, propose to your majesty to regulate the present, and to secure the future by means of a congress.

"Summoned to the throne by Providence and the will of the French people, but brought up in the school of adversity, it is, perhaps, less allowable for me than for others to ignore the rights of sovereigns and the legitimate aspirations of peoples. Thus I am ready, without any preconceived system, to bring to an international council a spirit of moderation and justice, the ordinary portion of those who have undergone so many different trials.

"If I take the initiative in such an overture, I do not yield to an impulse of vanity, but because I am the sovereign to whom ambitious projects have mostly been attributed. I have it at heart to prove, by this frank and loyal overture, that my sole object is to arrive, without convulsion, at the pacification of Europe. If this proposal be agreed to, I beg your majesty to accept Paris as the place of meeting.

"If the princes, allies and friends of France, should think fit to enhance by their presence the authority of the deliberations, I shall be proud to offer them cordial hospitality. Europe will, perhaps, see some advantage in the capital whence the signal of confusion has so often arisen, becoming the seat of conferences destined to lay the basis of a general pacification.

"I take the opportunity of renewing to you the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which I am,

"Madam, my Sister,

"Your Majesty's good Brother,

"NAPOLEON."



After the receipt of this important epistle had been acknowledged, the following despatch, dated from the Foreign Office by Earl Russell, November 12th, was sent to Earl Cowley, as a reply :—

“My Lord,—Her majesty the queen having been pleased to refer to her confidential servants a letter of the Emperor Napoleon, addressed to her majesty on the subject of a congress, I proceed to inform you of the view which her majesty's government take of the proposal contained in it.

“The letter invites her majesty to take part in a congress, to be held in Paris, on the affairs of Europe.

“I am commanded, in the first place, to inform your excellency that her majesty's government see in this step a proof of the interest taken by his imperial majesty in the welfare of Europe.

“I will now proceed to remark on the ground stated for this proposal, and then examine the proposal itself.

“His imperial majesty observes, that on all occasions when great convulsions have shaken the foundations and deranged the limits of states, solemn compacts have been entered into, having for their object to reduce to order the new elements, and to recognise, while revising them, the changes that have been effected. Such was the object of the treaty of Westphalia, in the seventeenth century, and of the negotiations of Vienna in 1815. On this last foundation the political edifice of Europe now rests; and nevertheless, his imperial majesty observes, it is crumbling to pieces on all sides.

“The emperor goes on to state that, if the situation of the different countries is attentively considered, it is impossible not to admit that, in almost all points, the treaties of Vienna are destroyed, modified, disregarded, or menaced.

“When so important a proposal as that which the emperor has put forth is made to rest on certain grounds, it is our duty to examine carefully the grounds themselves.

“Nearly half a century has elapsed since the treaties of 1815 were signed. The work was somewhat hurried by the necessity of giving repose to Europe after so many convulsions. Yet the changes made in this period of fifty years, have not been more than might have been expected from the lapse of time, the progress of opinion, the shifting policy of governments, and the varying exigencies of nations. If we take half a century from the peace of Westphalia to 1700, or a similar period from the peace of Utrecht to 1763, we shall find those periods marked by extensive changes, as well as the period which has elapsed between 1815 and 1863.

“Yet it was not thought necessary at the epochs mentioned to proceed to a general revision either of the treaty of Westphalia or the treaty of Utrecht.

“It is the conviction of her majesty's government, that the main provisions of the treaty of 1815 are in full force; that the greater number of these provisions have not been in any way disturbed; and that on these foundations rests the balance of power in Europe.

“If, instead of saying that the treaty of Vienna has ceased to exist, or that it is destroyed, we inquire whether certain portions of it have been modified, disregarded, or menaced, other questions occur. Some of the modifications which have taken place have received the sanction of all the great powers, and now form part of the public law of Europe.

“Is it proposed to give those changes a more general and solemn sanction? Is such a work necessary? Will it contribute to the peace of Europe?

“Other portions of the treaty of Vienna have been disregarded or set aside, and the changes thus made *de facto*, have not been recognised *de jure* by all the powers of Europe.

“Is it proposed to obtain from powers which have not hitherto joined in that recognition a sanction to those changes?

“Lastly come those parts of the treaty of Vienna which are menaced; and

upon those portions the most important questions of all arise. What is the nature of the proposals to be made on this subject by the Emperor Napoleon? In what direction would they tend? And, above all, are they, if agreed to by a majority of the powers, to be enforced by arms?

"When the sovereigns or ministers of Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, met at Verona in 1823, upon the affairs of Spain, the first four of those powers carried into effect their resolutions by means of armed forces, in spite of the protest of Great Britain. Is this example to be followed at the present congress in case of disagreement? Upon all these points her majesty's government must obtain satisfactory explanations before they can come to any decision upon the proposal made by the emperor.

"Her majesty's government would be ready to discuss with France and other powers, by diplomatic correspondence, any specified questions upon which a solution might be attained, and European peace thereby more securely established.

"But they would feel more apprehension than confidence from the meeting of a congress of sovereigns and ministers, without fixed objects, ranging over the map of Europe, and exciting hopes and aspirations which they might find themselves unable either to gratify or to quiet.

"Her majesty's government have no reason to doubt that the Emperor Napoleon would bring into such an assembly a spirit of moderation and of justice. They feel confident that his object is to give security to the peace of Europe. The only question is as to the means by which that object is to be attained.

"You are directed to read and give a copy of this despatch to M. Drouyn de Lhuys."

To this M. Drouyn de Lhuys replied—

"The imperial government have no intention either to apologise for, or to criticise, the treaties of Vienna. The emperor declared, on mounting the throne, that he should consider himself bound by the engagements subscribed to by his predecessors. Lately again, in his letter to the sovereigns, his majesty showed that the diplomatic acts of 1815 were the foundation on which rests to-day the political edifice of Europe. But this, he considers, an additional reason for examining whether this foundation is not shaken to its base.

"Now, the cabinet of London recognises with us that several of these stipulations have been seriously infringed. Among the modifications which have taken place, some have been consecrated by the sanction of all the great powers, and, at present, constitute a part of international law; others, on the contrary, carried into execution, have not been recognised as law by all the cabinets. As regards the first, we cannot help calling attention to the irresistible power with which they have forced themselves on the acceptance of the governments. The eagerness of England herself to give to them her adhesion proves how little the former combinations answered, according to the expression of Lord Russell, the requirements of the lapse of time, the progress of opinion, the shifting policy of governments, and the varying exigencies of nations; on the other hand, are we not authorised in believing that changes so important have diminished, to some extent, the harmony and equilibrium of the whole? We admit, with Lord Russell, that it is not absolutely necessary to give to these changes a more general and more solemn sanction; but we consider it would be an advantage to clear away the ruins and reunite in a single body all the living members.

"As regards the modifications to which the powers have not given a unanimous assent, they constitute so many causes of dispute, which, at any moment, may divide Europe into two camps. Instead of leaving the decision of these to violence and chance, would it not be better to pursue their equitable solution to a common agreement, and sanction these changes by revising them?

"The third category comprises those parts of the treaty of Vienna which are menaced. 'Upon those portions,' says his excellency, the principal Secretary of



State, 'the most important questions of all arise. What is the nature of the proposals to be made on this subject by the Emperor Napoleon? In what direction would they tend? And, above all, are they, if agreed to by a majority of the powers, to be enforced by arms?'

"The emperor, while he pointed out to Europe the dangers of a situation in deep commotion, indicated the method of averting the dire calamities which he foresees, and at which he, less than others, perhaps, would have reason to take alarm: for the questions out of which, at the present time, war may arise, interest France but indirectly; and it would depend on herself alone whether she would take part in the struggle or stand aloof from it. This he did by addressing all the sovereigns in full confidence, and simultaneously, without previous understanding with any of them, in order the better to testify his sincere impartiality, and to enter upon, free of every engagement, the important deliberations to which he invites them. Himself the youngest of sovereigns, he considers he has no right to assume the part of an arbiter, and to fix beforehand, for the other Courts, the programme of the congress which he proposes. This is the motive of the reserve which he has imposed upon himself. It is, moreover, so difficult to enumerate the questions, not yet solved, which may disturb Europe.

"A deplorable struggle is bathing Poland in blood—is agitating the neighbouring states, and threatening the world with the most serious disturbances. Three powers, with a view to putting a stop to it, invoke in vain the treaties of Vienna, which supply the two sides with contradictory arguments. Is this struggle to last for ever?

"Pretensions opposed to one another are exciting a quarrel between Denmark and Germany. The preservation of peace in the north is at the mercy of an accident. The cabinets have already, by their negotiations, become parties to the dispute. Are they now become indifferent to it?

"Shall anarchy continue to prevail on the lower Danube? And shall it be able, at any moment, to open anew a bloody arena for the dispute of the Eastern question?

"Shall Austria and Italy remain, in presence of each other, in a hostile attitude, ever ready to break the truce which prevents their animosities exploding?

"Shall the occupation of Rome, by the French troops, be prolonged for an indefinite period?

"Lastly, must we renounce, without fresh attempts at conciliation, the hope of lightening the burden imposed on the nations by the disproportionate armaments occasioned by mutual mistrust?

"Such are, sir, in our opinion, the principle questions which the powers would, doubtless, judge it useful to examine and decide.

"Lord Russell surely does not expect us to specify here the mode of solution applicable to each of these problems, nor the kind of sanction which might be given by the decisions of the congress. To the powers there represented would pertain the right of pronouncing upon these various points. We will only add, that it will be in our eyes illusory to pursue their solution through the labyrinth of diplomatic correspondence and separate negotiation; and that the way now proposed, so far from ending in war, is the only one which can lead to a durable pacification.

"At one of the last meetings of the congress at Paris, the Earl of Clarendon, invoking a stipulation of the treaty of peace which had just been signed, and which recommended recourse to the mediation of a friendly state before resorting to force, in the event of dissension arising between the Porte and others of the signatory powers, expressed the opinion 'that this happy innovation might receive a more general application, and thus become a barrier against conflicts which frequently only break forth because it is not always possible to enter into explanation, and to come to an understanding.' The plenipotentiaries of all the Courts concurred unanimously in the intention of their colleague, and did not hesitate to express, in the name of their governments, the wish that states, between which any

serious misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to friendly mediation before appealing to arms.

"The solicitude of the emperor goes further; it does not wait for dissensions to break out, in order to recommend an application to the actual circumstances of the salutary principle engraven on the latest monument of the public law of Europe; and his majesty now invites his allies 'to enter into explanations, and to come to an understanding.'"

Lord Russell, after admitting the benevolent aims of the emperor, and claiming the same for England, proceeded to observe—

"Her majesty's government understand, from the explanation given by M. Drouyn de Lhuys, that, in the opinion of the government of the emperor, it is obvious to every one, that there are several questions, not hitherto solved, which may disturb Europe. Of this nature are the following:—

[The noble lord having specified them, and referred to the further proposals of the emperor, which we have printed in the letter of his foreign minister, continues]—

"These, no doubt, are the principal questions which either disturb or threaten the peace of Europe; but there is a further question which her majesty's government considers to lie at the bottom of the whole matter; and that is the following:—

"Is a general congress of European states likely to furnish a peaceful solution of the matters in dispute? This, indeed, is the question which it behoves the governments of the different states to consider seriously and attentively.

"There appears to her majesty's government to be one main consideration which must lead to this conclusion—

"After the war which desolated Germany, from 1619 to 1649, and after the successive wars which afflicted the continent of Europe from 1793 to 1815, it was possible to distribute territories and to define rights by a congress, because the nations of Europe were tired of the slaughter, and exhausted by the burdens of war; and because the powers who met in congress had, by the circumstances of the time, the means of carrying their decisions and arrangements into effect.

"But, at the present moment, after a long continuance of peace, no power is willing to give up any territory to which it has a title by treaty or a claim by possession.

"For example, of the questions mentioned as distinguishing or threatening Europe, two of the most disquieting are those regarding Poland and Italy.

"Let us examine the present state of these questions, and see whether it is probable that a congress would tend to a peaceful settlement of them.

"In the first place, with regard to Poland, the question is not new to France, to Austria, or Great Britain. For several months these powers, while carefully abstaining from any threat, have attempted to obtain from Russia, by friendly representations, the adoption of measures of a healing nature; but have only succeeded in procuring promises often repeated, that, when the insurrection shall have been put down, recourse will be had to clemency and conciliation. Would there be any advantage in repeating, in the name of a congress, representations already made with so little effect?

"Is it probable that a congress would be able to name better terms for Poland, unless by a combined employment of force?

"Considerable progress has been made, by the military preponderance, and unsparing severity of Russia, in subduing the insurgents.

"Is it likely that Russia will grant, in the pride of her strength, what she refused in the early days of her discouragement?

"Would she create an independent Poland at the mere request of congress?

"But if she would not, the prospect becomes one of humiliation for Europe, or of war against Russia; and those powers who are not ready to incur the cost and hazard of war may well desire to avoid the other alternative.



"It may be said truly that the present period is one of transition. If the insurrection shall be subdued, it will then be seen whether the promises of the Emperor of Russia are to be fulfilled. If the insurrection shall not be subdued, or if, in order to subdue it, the Polish population is treated with fresh and, if that be possible, with aggravated rigour, other questions will arise which may require further consideration, but which would hardly receive a solution from a large assembly of representatives of all the powers of Europe.

"Indeed, it is to be apprehended that questions arising from day to day, coloured by the varying events of the hour, would give occasion rather for useless debate than for practical and useful deliberations in a congress of twenty or thirty representatives, not acknowledging any supreme authority, and not guided by any fixed rules of proceeding.

"Passing to the question of Italy, fresh difficulties occur. In the first place, is it intended to sanction, by a new treaty, the present state of possession in Italy? The pope, and the sovereigns related to the dispossessed princes, might, on the one side, object to give a title they have hitherto refused to the King of Italy; and the King of Italy, on the other hand, would probably object to a settlement which would appear to exclude him, by inference at least, from the acquisition of Rome and Venetia.

"But is it intended to ask Austria, in congress, to renounce the possession of Venetia? Her majesty's government have good grounds for believing that no Austrian representative would attend a congress where such a proposition was to be discussed. They are informed that, if such an intention were announced beforehand, Austria would decline to attend the congress; and that, if the question were introduced without notice, the Austrian minister would quit the assembly. Here again, therefore, the deliberations of the congress would soon be brought in sight of the alternative of nullity or war.

"But is it possible to assemble a congress, and to summon an Italian representative to sit in it, without discussing the state of Venetia? The Emperor of the French would be the first person to feel and to admit that such a course would not be possible.

"With regard to Germany and Denmark, it is true that several of the powers of Europe have interested themselves in that question; but the addition of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Turkey to the deliberations, would scarcely improve the prospect of a satisfactory solution. And if, with regard to Poland and Italy, no beneficial result is likely, what," argued his lordship, "would be the good of a congress?"

The idea of the congress was spurned by the Conservatives. In *Blackwood's Magazine*, for instance, appeared such lines as the following, entitled "The Invitation:"—

"Will you walk into my parlour? says the little man so sly;  
I cordially can offer you my hospitali-ty:  
Some ugly things, I'm certain, could be settled in a trice,  
If you and I would only try: and wouldn't that be nice?  
Will you, will you, will you, will you, walk in, neighbour dear?  
Will you, will you, won't you, won't you, friends and neighbours dear?"

"Sure such a mess was never seen, a chaos so complete,  
Where black and white, and wrong and right, in wild confusion meet.  
We've rights without a title, and demands without restraint,  
And duties where there's nothing due, enough to vex a saint.  
Will you, will you, &c.

"A congress is the thing we need, our quiet to insure,  
To regulate the present, and the future to secure;  
And I'm the man to moot the plan, as all of you must feel,  
For well I know, both high and low, each spoke of Fortune's wheel.  
Will you, will you, &c.

"It isn't out of vanity I wish to take the lead,  
It is because my character's so very bad indeed,  
Men call me so ambitious, still to selfish ends awake,  
But when they see me frank and free they'll think it a mistake.  
Will you, will you, &c.

"Then for our place of meeting, let me hope you all will give  
A preference to my house and home, and with me come and live :  
The peaceful drama we're to act this well-known scene befits,  
From which of old came schemes so bold—to blow you all to bits.  
Will you, will you, &c.

"And you, friend Bull, especially, I trust, will not refuse,  
Though nothing you may have to gain, and everything to lose."

And so on.

The Swiss confederacy were almost alone in their approval of the imperial idea. The King of Belgium and the King of Holland were favourable. From the *Moniteur* we reprint the reply of the Emperor of Austria:—

"Monsieur mon Frère,—The letter written to me by your majesty on the 4th of November, directs my attention to the precarious state of Europe, to the dangers which may result therefrom, and proposes to me to regulate the present, and assure the future, in a congress.

"This step is suggested to your majesty by the sincere desire of sparing the world the calamities entailed by war. To preserve and assure to Europe the benefits of peace, at the same time preserving from any attack the honour and dignity of the countries we govern—such should indeed be one of our most constant cares. Such is also my dearest wish; and, to attain this end, my co-operation will always be secured to your majesty.

"Guided by this sentiment, I have conscientiously examined the proposition which has been made to me. I was bound to ask myself if, in its present form, your majesty's project united all the conditions which would permit me to hope for a result in conformity with your desires and mine?

"The success of every enterprise depends, in a great measure, upon the manner in which it is undertaken, and the plan which has been marked out. The greater the difficulty of the enterprise, and the more it demands the co-operation of various forces and wills, the more urgent it becomes to have a clear understanding upon the point of departure; to define the object and means of action held in view; to determine beforehand, in fact, the line of conduct that will be followed. These conditions appear to me to essentially affect the success of the work that your majesty desires to essay, and to which you invite me.

"Before joining it, I therefore deem it indispensable to be enlightened upon certain preliminary points. In a word, I should wish to know, with some accuracy, the bases and programme of the deliberations of the congress which would assemble.

"In specifying beforehand the questions to be examined by the congress, and agreeing upon the direction to be given to its labours, unforeseen obstacles that might compromise everything would be avoided; this course would also remove dangerous and almost insolvable problems, which, unexpectedly raised, would only envenom the debates, and give rise to fresh complications, instead of obviating those which already exist.

"These considerations appear to me too important not to deserve all the attention of your majesty. Prince Metternich will be charged, on his side, to state them with greater development. The particular good-will and confidence which your majesty has always been good enough to manifest towards my ambassador, will facilitate, I trust, this preliminary understanding, which it appears to me necessary to establish before offering my support to the plan conceived by your majesty.



“I take this opportunity of renewing the assurances of the high esteem and inviolable friendship with which

“I am, Monsieur mon Frère,

“Your Majesty's good brother,

“Vienna, Nov. 17.”

“FRANCIS JOSEPH.

“The following is the reply of the King of Prussia:—

“Monsieur mon Frère,—Your majesty, in writing to me the letter which your ambassador presented to me on the 13th of November, must have been convinced that the generous sentiments which inspired you would be responded to with that cordial assent which a sovereign, having at heart the welfare of nations, could not decline joining in the noble object which your majesty proposes to the European powers, by inviting them to a general congress. During the course of the last half century the treaties of 1815 have necessarily undergone modifications, which the irresistible influence of time and events exercises upon human institutions. Nevertheless, those treaties still continue to form the foundation upon which the political edifice of Europe actually rests. It will, therefore, be a task worthy of the efforts of all governments interested in the maintenance of order and of peace to consolidate that foundation, to provide for those portions which have been destroyed, or which will have to be abolished, and to give additional guarantees to such enactments as may be misunderstood or menaced. In such a work I will join with all my heart, and in perfect liberty only to consult my own solicitude for the general interests of Europe; because, as Prussia has never outstepped the limits of treaties, she has no direct interest in provoking or declining the meeting of a congress. Such a position enables my government to lend its impartial and disinterested support to establish between the powers convoked a preliminary understanding, upon the principles of the congress, and to obviate, by prudent negotiation, the difficulties which might cause germs of discord in a work of conciliation and of peace. To this effect my government will be happy to receive any overtures your majesty may think fit to make respecting preliminary views.

“I thank your majesty for the hospitality which you have kindly offered me, and I am sure I should meet with a welcome at Paris, which renders so dear to me the remembrance of my sojourn at Compiègne; but it is rather for our ministers united in council, to enlighten by their discussions, and to prepare for the sanction of the sovereigns the proposals which will be submitted to the congress.

“I take advantage of this opportunity to renew the assurances of the high esteem and special friendship with which I remain, Monsieur mon frère, of your majesty,

“Le bon Frère,

“Berlin, Nov. 18.”

“WILLIAM.

“The following is the reply of the pope to the Emperor Napoleon:—

“Imperial Majesty,—The thought which your majesty expresses of being able to establish, without shock in Europe—with God's blessing elsewhere also!—with the concurrence of the sovereigns, or of their representatives, a system which calms men's minds, and restores peace, tranquillity, and order to the numerous countries where, unhappily, these benefits are lost, is a design which greatly honours your majesty, and which, with the co-operation of all, assisted by Divine grace, would produce the best results. We co-operate, therefore, in so laudable a project in a perfectly cordial spirit, and can now earnestly assure your majesty that all our moral support will be afforded to the congress, in order that the principles of justice, in these days so much misunderstood and trodden under foot, may be re-established to the advantage of society in its present agitated state, that violated rights may be admitted in order to be asserted in favour of those who have had to suffer by their violation, and especially in order that the real pre-eminence which

belongs naturally to the Catholic religion, as being the only true one, may be re-established, especially in Catholic countries.

“Your majesty cannot hesitate to believe that the vicar of Jesus Christ, either from the duties of his sublime representation, or from the conviction he entertains, that in the Catholic faith, in conjunction with practice, is to be found the sole means proper to moralise the peoples, cannot in the midst of congresses, even political ones, fail in his obligation to sustain, with the greatest rigour, the rights of our most august religion, which is one, holy, catholic, apostolic, and Roman.

“The confidence which we express of seeing violated rights vindicated, springs from the conscientious duty imposed upon us by their guardianship. In showing ourselves full of solicitude on the subject of these rights, we do not wish your majesty ever to suppose that we could entertain any doubt with regard to those appertaining to this holy see, since, besides the other motives which militate in its favour, we have also the assurances which your majesty has several times given, and caused to be given publicly—assurances which it would seem to us offensive to doubt, coming from so high and powerful a sovereign.

“After this preliminary explanation, which has seemed to us all the more opportune that we better understand your majesty's views, we are happy to add that we applaud material progress, and desire, besides, that nations should be in a position to enjoy peaceably their property, as much for the profit that they derive therefrom, as for the occupation which it gives them. We could not say as much in the case of our being invited to satisfy certain aspirations of some fractions of these nations—aspirations which cannot be reconciled with the principles above enunciated.

“We entertain the hope that your majesty, with your high perspicacity, will recognise in our frank communication the character of loyalty which always accompanies the acts of this apostolic see, and, at the same time, the evidence of the great esteem which we entertain towards your august person, to whom we have in no way hesitated to speak thus explicitly in a matter of so much importance.

“Hereupon, with the assurance of our paternal affection, we give your majesty, your august consort, and the imperial prince, our apostolic benediction.

“Given in our palace of the Vatican, the 20th of November, 1863.

“PIUS P.P. IX.”

The *Moniteur* also published the answers of the Emperor of Russia, the King of Saxony, and the King of Würtemberg to the letter of invitation to the congress. It appears that the first-named potentate claims for himself the original idea of concert between the sovereigns intrusted with the destinies of nations, as the best means of putting an end to the general disquiet of Europe. In proof of his good intentions, he appeals to all he had already done in reducing his armaments, abolishing compulsory enlistment throughout his empire, and introducing other important reforms. If he suspended these beneficial measures, or reverted to the ancient system, it was owing to the events which menaced the tranquillity and even the integrity of his states. He asks for nothing better than to be allowed to resume the reforms upon which he had entered; and the moment for doing so can only be hastened by the subsidence of agitation in Europe. The assertion of the Emperor Napoleon, that the treaties of 1815 no longer exist, is, perhaps, referred to by the czar when he observes that, while the repose of the world does not consist in immobility, neither is it to be attained by “the instability of political combinations, which each generation would be called upon to undo, and to recommence according to the passions and the interests of the moment, but rather by the practical wisdom which imposes on all respect for established rights.”

The czar would, of course, feel very happy if the Emperor Napoleon's plan led to a frank understanding among the sovereigns; but that can only result from the



assent of the other powers; and that assent depends on his laying before them the precise questions they have to examine, as well as the bases on which the understanding is to be established.

The King of Saxony would be quite delighted to assist in the realisation of the emperor's magnanimous designs if the cabinets of Europe agreed to do the same; if Germany, "and, above all, its two great powers, as the leaders," associated themselves in the work.

The King of Würtemberg is not less profuse in good wishes and compliments. Struck with admiration of the "noble intentions" of his imperial brother, he, too, would endeavour to promote the favourable disposition of the Diet towards the projects of his majesty, "*unless* such of the powers of Europe, whose co-operation must be considered indispensable to the settlement of the questions to be laid before the congress, should, after more precise information from the Tuileries, raise obstacles of a nature to cause the project of a European congress to be abandoned." The king then politely thanks the emperor for his offer of hospitality in Paris, and assures his "good brother" of his high esteem, and his inviolable friendship. Unfortunately, obstacles were raised.

Not many years elapsed, however, before one of the principals had reason to rue the day when they allowed the obstacles to be irresistible. A congress might have saved many a crown that has since been lost.

One bad result of this refusal, on our part, to enter into a congress, was the coolness which grew up between France and England, in consequence of which the little kingdom of Denmark was shorn of Schleswig and Holstein—a disaster that led to the complete ruin of Austria, and placed Prussia at the head of Germany; which would not have been the case had not Austria and Prussia taken Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark, and then quarrelled about the division of the spoil. We must devote a short space to the history of the Danish question.

In May, 1852, a treaty was signed in London by the representatives of France, Austria, Prussia, and Great Britain; to which, subsequently, Russia, and some of the minor states of Germany, gave their assent. This treaty had been brought about by Frederick VII., of Denmark, who, having no direct heirs, took this step to prevent any difficulty arising as to the succession on his decease. The settlement was rather complicated. The Salic law did not exist in Denmark, but it did in Schleswig and Holstein; then, again, Holstein and Lauenberg were members of the German confederation. It was the aim of the king to unite all these elements in one person. The most direct heirs were the children of the Landgrave of Hesse, by an aunt of the reigning king; but they were excluded by the Salic law. They were bought off (as also, in 1852, were the claims of the Duke of Augustenberg, who, on certain conditions, signed a renunciation of his rights), and the true heir was declared to be Prince Christian, of Schleswig-Holstein-Sönderberg, Glücksburg. If treaties and guarantees were of any avail, Prince Christian had every certainty of a peaceful succession to the throne.

It was otherwise decreed. Frederick VII. died November 15th, 1863; and, on the following day, Christian IX. was proclaimed king. Holstein was dissatisfied; and when the young Duke of Augustenberg claimed his rights, in spite of their previous sale by his father, there was a strong disposition to support him. At the same time, the Duke of Nassau, the King of Bavaria, and some other of the petty German sovereigns, agreed to support him; and the Frankfort Diet, without deciding in his favour, expelled the representative of the King of Denmark, as not being the recognised sovereign of Holstein. German troops were actually sent into Holstein and Lauenberg. On the last day of the year, Earl Russell wrote to the Diet, proposing a conference, and a suspension of action while the conference was sitting. In his despatch, he said—"The powers who signed the treaty of London, together with the Germanic confederation, are those first bound to establish the arrangements and terms of ultimate agreement. Moreover," he added, "that though the individual right of succession was a small question, yet it is of great



importance that the faith of treaties should be upheld; that right and possession should be respected; and that the flames of war should not be spread over Europe through questions which quiet, and timely exercise of reason and justice, might conduct to a peaceful solution."

No sooner had the Federal force, which was furnished by Hanover and Saxony, taken possession of Holstein and Lauenberg, than Austria and Prussia, as the chief powers in Germany, gave notice that they intended to be the executors of the decree of the Frankfort Diet, and that the Federal troops must evacuate the territory; which, accordingly, they did. The demands on Denmark were then renewed by the two great powers; which, being resisted, hostilities commenced in earnest on February 1st, 1864. The Danes retired behind the Eider, believing, after what Lord Palmerston had said, that England and France would, sooner or later, interfere on their behalf. They also trusted to the Dannemarke, an ancient rampart, which had been strengthened since 1859. Alas! as regards the Dannemarke and their allies, the Danes found their hopes were vain. On February 1st, General Von Wrangel, who commanded the Prussian forces, crossed the Schleswig frontier; took possession of Gottorp, the Danish troops retiring; and issued a proclamation to the Schleswigers, telling them that he had come "to protect their rights; and that the governments of Austria and Prussia had determined to abolish the incorporation of Schleswig with Denmark." On the 2nd, there was a severe fight between the Prussians and the Danes, in which the latter were worsted. On the 3rd, the Danes fought the Austrians, and were again defeated by numbers, and superior artillery and small-arms. Then commenced for the Danes a disastrous retreat. Schleswig fell, of course. The Austrians took Flensburg after a slight resistance; while the Prussians followed the Danish forces, who had fallen back on Dybbøl, or Düppel—a strongly fortified position, opposite the Isle of Alsén. The abandonment of the line of the Dannemarke occasioned much indignation at Copenhagen. The Rigsraad voted high-spirited addresses; but they could provide neither arms nor men. In England, also, there was much anger; and many young men, moved by the beauty of the Princess of Wales, and the extremity of her father, talked of going to fight for the Danes; but they thought better of it. The smaller states of Germany were also vastly indignant at the mode in which Austria and Prussia, for purposes of their own, had superseded the authority of the Diet; and the Federal commissioners issued a proclamation, in which they stated, that the occupation of Altona by the Prussian troops, could only be regarded as "an act of violence, in direct contradiction to declarations very recently made by the high cabinets of Vienna and Berlin;" especially as it was expressly pointed out as self-evident in the instructions of the Diet, forwarded to the commissioners on the 22nd of December, that continuous occupation of the Holstein territory was reserved for the Federal troops alone. No one, however, pitied them. They had been thoroughly duped; and the general opinion in England was, that it served them right. We may be sure that neither the patriotic addresses of the Rigsraad, nor the dissatisfaction of the members of the Diet, nor the censure of Europe, had any effect in stopping the progress of the superior forces of Austria and Prussia. On February 7th, General Von Wrangel announced, that, in future, Austrian and Prussian commissioners would administer the civil government of Schleswig, "the sea surrounded," and that the German language would alone be used in all branches of the administration.

Not satisfied with the successes they had achieved, Marshal Wrangel set down to besiege Düppel; while General Gallenz, who commanded the Austrian troops, undertook the capture of Fredericia, in Jutland, and thus invaded Denmark proper. This step was disapproved of at Vienna when it was made known; but meanwhile, after a bombardment the Danes retired. At Düppel, the Prussians had to wait a few days for their artillery, and then it was all up with the Danes. Indeed, they never had a chance. At Düppel they could only oppose 12,000 men to 30,000, infinitely better armed. On one occasion, a Danish iron-clad, the *Rolf*



*Krakl*, did good service: but what was a temporary success in the face of tremendous odds? Soon after, the town of Sönderberg, in Alsen, was bombarded; and on April 18th, after a gallant defence, the last remaining bastions were stormed, and the Prussians were masters of the place, the garrison retiring into Jutland. After the fall of Düppel the Prussians entered Jutland, levying heavy contributions on the defenceless inhabitants, in compensation for the damage to property, caused to Prussian, as well as other German subjects, by ships and cargoes captured by the Danes. On June 29th, the Prussians attacked Alsen, and, after a sharp contest, obtained possession of it. The Danish troops, embarking on board their own vessels, were taken to Funen. Thus beaten, in spite of their gallantry, by superior forces, and deserted by their allies, the Danes were compelled to sue for peace. On the 20th of July, a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon for ten days, by which it was agreed that the troops of Austria and Prussia were to remain in Jutland until peace was ratified. On the 30th of October this was done, and Schleswig-Holstein, Lauenberg, and a part of Jutland, were given up to the haughty and exacting conquerors. After these powers had taken possession, Austria gave up Lauenberg to Prussia, on payment of a stipulated sum; the civil administration of Holstein was assigned to Austria, and of Schleswig to Prussia. The next thing was to settle as to the future. Accordingly, the convention of Gastein was held on August 14th, 1865. In that convention, after all that had been said and done to the contrary, Prussia having obtained Austria as her accomplice, found no difficulty in securing her consent to the declaration that the real title to the duchies was in the King of Denmark; and that consequently, by the treaty of October, that right was now vested in the two sovereigns. Prussia then threw off all disguise, and announced her intention to annex them to her own dominions; and offered Austria a pecuniary compensation, which was declined; Austria wanting to get the duchies declared independent, and to have the question settled by the Diet of the confederation, where she expected to have a majority. We must add here that, eventually, Austria and Prussia went to war; that the battle of Königgrätz destroyed Austria as a German power; and that, by the force of the sword, Prussia became lord of all. Thus poetic justice was done to the smaller states of the confederation, who were so eager to rob Denmark of the duchies.

Earl Russell's despatch on the Gastein convention bears date September 14th, 1865; and is as follows:—

"The *chargé d'affaires* of Prussia has communicated to me the substance of a despatch relating to the convention of Gastein, and the newspapers of Berlin have since published the text of that convention.

"Upon the first communication to her majesty's government of the preliminaries of peace signed at Vienna, I stated, at Vienna and Berlin, the views of her majesty's government upon those preliminaries. The present convention has only served to increase the regret her majesty's government thus expressed.

"The treaties of 1815 gave the King of Denmark a seat in the German Diet, as Duke of Holstein.

"The treaty of 1852 recognised the right of succession to the whole Danish monarchy, which the late king had established in the person of the present king.

"That treaty has, in spite of the assurances given in the despatches of January 31st, 1864, been completely set aside by Austria and Prussia, two of the powers who had signed it.

"It might have been expected, that when treaties were thus annulled, the popular feeling of Germany, the wishes of the peoples of the duchies themselves, and the opinions of the majority of the Diet, so explicitly put forth by Austria and Prussia in the sittings of the conference of London, would have been recognised in their place. In this manner, if one order of rights had been overthrown, another title, derived from the assent of the people, would have been set up, and that title might have been received with respect, and maintained with a prospect of permanence.



"But all rights, old and new, whether founded on the solemn compact of sovereigns, or on the clear expression of the popular will, have been set at nought by the convention of Gastein, and the dominion of force is the sole power acknowledged and regarded.

"Violence and conquest are the basis upon which alone the partitioning powers found their agreement.

"Her majesty's government deeply lament the disregard thus shown to the principles of public right, and the legitimate claims of a people to be heard as to the disposal of their own destiny.

"This instruction does not authorise you to address observations on this subject to the Court to which you are accredited, but is intended only to point out, when the opportunity shall arise, what is the language you are expected to hold."

Thus, at last, the Germans, in a rough way, got unity.

Whilst we are writing, a document, drawn up by the late Prince Consort, on the subject of German unity, in the year 1848, when it was felt that things could not remain as they were much longer, is just published. Had it been adopted, the Frankfort Diet would have been still in existence. The prince writes—

"The problem that must be solved is to convert Germany from a confederation of states (*Staatenbund*) into one Federal state (*Bundesstaat*). If the solution is to be salutary and permanent, it must be developed out of the state of affairs at present existing, and becoming the starting-point of entire German history. It must not be a cut-and-dried theory, but the final representation of a position long foreseen and desired by the German people; in which, at one and the same time, all conditions and requirements of the state generally are fulfilled in the most satisfactory way. In Germany we have various individual peoples—states complete in themselves—dynasties and crowns—all which must be united. It would be sinful to reduce to a common level and to obliterate the individualities of the peoples by a centralisation, shaping all after the same pattern: for it is in the peculiarity and legality of such individualities that the many-sided vitality and freshness of life of the German people consists. The crowns and dynasties which are identical with the personality (*persönlichkeit*) of these states, must not be infringed or humiliated, if the personality and executive power of the individual states they represent is not to be destroyed; but both states and peoples should be taken together practically, as a whole, and efficaciously constituted.

"I think the solution should be the following:—The princes of the Germanic confederation, together with the four burgomasters of the free towns, form a conference of princes, and elect, from among this number, a German emperor, either for life, or for a term of years (ten?).

"The estates of the various German states elect from among the members of both their Chambers, a number proportionate to the population and importance of the individual states, and organise therewith a German Diet (*Reichstag*).

"An Austragal court (*Reichsgericht*), presided over by an irremovable chancellor, to form a supreme court, composed of the legal faculties of the German universities, decisive in all questions between the different individual states; between the various governments and their estates; in all German succession and regency questions; also in territorial divisions and cases of heirship.

"The representation of Germany to be incumbent upon the emperor. All imperial business to be carried on in his name. In conjunction with the conference of princes, he is to appoint to public offices. At the head of the said conference, he will, upon each occasion, open the Diet. He is at liberty to reject the propositions of the conference of princes, and a resolution of the Diet can only become valid by his sanction. He may, where he thinks fit, allow himself to be represented by another prince. His ministers to be the minister for foreign affairs, and the two presidents of a Chamber of Commerce and a council of war. These ministers to be responsible to the Diet. The ministry for foreign affairs has to negotiate with foreign ambassadors, and, in extraordinary cases, to send envoys to foreign Courts.



"The German Chamber of Commerce, composed of officials from the various states, to have the management of the German customs, navigation, roads, railways, postal, and traffic systems.

"The German council of war, formed of generals from the various armies, to conduct the organisation of the German army, composed of troops from the different separate states, at the head of which shall be a Federal commander-in-chief in time of war. The German fortresses and the (prospective) German fleet to be also under the management of the council of war.

"The German sovereigns themselves, or princes of their houses representing them, to form the conference of princes. This conference to possess a veto upon the resolutions of the Diet, and upon the appointments to offices by the emperor. Under the emperor's presidency the conference appoints the members of the three imperial Chambers (*Reichskammern*). It has to sanction the propositions to be made by the emperor to the Diet. It votes by majority, yet so that the princes of the larger states have a comparatively larger number of votes. Every prince may vote by proxy. The conference of princes, with the emperor, appoint the Federal commander-in-chief, in the event and pending the duration of a war.

"The Diet (*Reichstag*) to assemble every three years. The deputies (*Reichsboten*) of which it is composed, from both Chambers of the various states, sit and debate together, but vote in two voting bodies (*Curien*) corresponding to those Chambers. Let each member speak from his seat. The Diet votes by majority, so that the agreement of both voting bodies is necessary for decision. Let the number of the members not be too large: not above fifty in the first, nor 150 in the second Chamber—together, 200. A marshal of the Diet, elected by the entire Diet from the first voting body (*Curie*), to act as president.

"Thus we have, then, an emperor as the representative and personification of German unity, and as the supreme officer of the executive power. His worthiness is guaranteed by choice of, and from, twenty-seven crowned heads; upon whom, on the other hand, falls back part of the splendour of the dignity voted from among and by them. Further, as a branch of the executive power, a 'responsible ministry' in the presidents of the three imperial Chambers, and a Federal commander-in-chief, whose ability is guaranteed by his election when his services are required, and for a certain period only. Further, a conference of princes, as the immediate participator, both of the executive power and of the representative importance of the emperor, who, by this necessary participation, perfectly secures the undiminished continuance of the power and sovereignty of all German crowns. Then a Diet, as the expression of the collective will of the whole German nation, yet so composed, that, at the same time, the individuality of every single German people and state is completely represented by the despatch of the delegates of the empire (*Reichsboten*) from its own estates. Lastly, we have a supreme Austragal tribunal, as the expression of entire German legal wisdom, relieved from all external influences by its irremovability.

"The authority of all these tribunals naturally only extends to matters of general German importance—which would have to be more exactly defined—without interfering in the legislative and administrative departments of individual states."

We must now devote a little space to that sad chapter—the wants, and wrongs, and woes of Poland. In 1861 and 1862, the Russian government took it into its head to make the administration of the kingdom entirely Polish; re-establishing the University of Warsaw, trebling the number of gymnasiums in Poland, and founding schools even for the peasantry. Nevertheless discontent existed. In April, 1861, there were popular demonstrations at Warsaw, in consequence of the Russian government dissolving the Polish Agricultural Society, of which Count Andre Zamoyski was president. On the 8th the troops fired on the populace; and the numbers killed and wounded, on that and subsequent days, amounted to about 1,000. The summer passed off, however, peaceably; and the



land was quiet till January, 1863, when the insurrection began. A conscription, it appears, for the Russian army had been carried on for two or three days; and had been submitted to quietly, until it was discovered that, instead of the usual plan, a selection was being made of all the young men of education, and suspected of patriotic feeling. On this being ascertained, the young men left their homes, withdrew to the woods, provided themselves with arms, and prepared for resistance. In many places the Russian soldiers, when in small parties, were massacred; and the insurrection spread rapidly. The insurgents broke up the railways and the telegraphic wires; and, dispersing themselves in small bodies, embarrassed the movements of the Russian military forces, and frequently succeeded in defeating them with considerable loss. The rising was badly timed. The country was not prepared for the insurrection when it broke out. The most influential part of Polish society was opposed to it. Mr. Sutherland Edwards, who went out as the *Times'* commissioner, wrote—"In fact, there were scarcely a dozen men in Poland who wanted a Polish insurrection in January, 1863. The Russian government, the Grand Duke Constantine, and the Marquis Wielopolski, the Polish chief of the civil government in Poland, did not want it at all. The Polish national committee wanted it in the spring. The committee organised by the Polish moderate or aristocratic party, wanted it in two years, or still later; but, at all events, not until full preparation had been made, until the peasant question had been settled definitively, and until the state of affairs in Russia and abroad should seem to give the rising a fair chance of success. The insurrection was not desired by the French government, which was allied with Russia at the time, and which had just proved its Polish sympathies by arresting Polish agents in Paris, and stopping the supplies of arms intended for the future insurgents. As for the English government, its representative at St. Petersburg heartily approved of the system introduced by the Marquis Wielopolski; which, indeed, could only be objected to by the jealousy of the Prussian and Austrian governments, and by such Poles as were resolved, at all hazards, to prevent even a temporary reconciliation between Poland and Russia. The English consul-general and vice-consul at Warsaw were also of opinion that the Poles would best consult their own interests by accepting the reforms introduced by the Marquis Wielopolski."

Desperate was the contest carried on. After two successful engagements with the Russians, on the 16th and 17th of March, Langiewicz was attacked, and, after a severe struggle, the insurgents were defeated and dispersed. Langiewicz, with about 900 of his adherents, succeeded in crossing the Austrian border. He was lodged in his castle of Cracow, and his men were disarmed and imprisoned. In April a more serious character was given to the struggle, by the fact that England, France, and Austria sent separate notes to St. Petersburg respecting Poland, remonstrating against Russian cruelties; to which Prince Gortschakoff replied, attributing the revolt to the revolutionary tendencies with which Europe was affected, "which are the curse of our age, and are now concentrated in this country." In his note to England, he complained "of the continual conspiracy which is being organised and armed abroad, to keep up disorder in the kingdom."

The ideas of the English government on the subject may be best learnt from Earl Russell's despatch, dated June the 17th. His lordship writes—

"Her majesty's government have considered with the deepest attention the despatch of Prince Gortschakoff of the 26th of April, which was placed in my hands by Baron Brunnow on the 2nd of May. Her majesty's government are not desirous, any more than Prince Gortschakoff, of continuing a barren discussion. I will therefore pass over all the controversy regarding my previous despatch. I will not endeavour, in the present communication, to fix the precise meaning of the article regarding Poland in the treaty of Vienna; nor will I argue, as Prince Gortschakoff seems to expect I should do, that there is only one form under which good government can be established. Still less will I call in question the



benevolent intentions of the enlightened emperor, who has already, in a short time, effected such marvellous changes in the legal condition of his Russian subjects. Her majesty's government are willing, with the Emperor of Russia, to seek a practical solution of a difficult and most important problem. Baron Brunnow, in presenting to me Prince Gortschakoff's despatch, said—'The imperial cabinet is ready to enter upon an exchange of ideas upon the ground and within the limits of the treaties of 1815.' Her majesty's government are thus invited, by the government of Russia, to an exchange of ideas upon the basis of the treaty of 1815, with a view to the pacification and permanent tranquillity of Poland. Before making any definite proposals, it is essential to point out that there are two leading principles upon which, as it appears to her majesty's government, any future government of Poland ought to rest. The first of these is the establishment of confidence in the government on the part of the governed. The original views of the Emperor Alexander I. are stated by Lord Castlereagh, who had heard from the emperor's own lips, in a long conversation, the plan he contemplated.

"The plan of the emperor is thus described by Lord Castlereagh:—'To retain the whole of the duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the small portion to the westward of Kalisch, which he meant to assign to Prussia, erecting the remainder, together with the Polish provinces formerly dismembered, into a kingdom under the dominion of Russia, with a national administration congenial to the sentiments of the people.'

"The whole force of this plan consists in the latter words. Whether power is retained in the hands of one, as in the old monarchy of France—or divided among a select body of the aristocracy, as in the republic of Venice—or distributed among a sovereign, a House of Peers, and a representative assembly, as in England—its virtue and strength must consist in its being a 'national administration congenial to the sentiments of the people.' The Emperor Alexander II., speaking of the institutions he has given, says—'As to the future, it necessarily depends on the confidence with which these institutions will be received on the part of the kingdom.' Such an administration as Alexander I. intended, such confidence as Alexander II. looked for, unhappily do not exist in Poland. The next principle of order and stability must be found in the supremacy of law over arbitrary will. Where such supremacy exists, the subject or citizen may enjoy his property or exercise his industry in peace; and the security he feels as an individual, will be felt, in its turn, by the government under which he lives. Partial tumults, secret conspiracies, and the interference of cosmopolite strangers, will not shake the firm edifice of such a government. This element of stability is likewise wanting in Poland. The religious liberty guaranteed by the solemn declarations of the Empress Catherine, the political freedom granted by the deliberate charter of the Emperor Alexander I., have alike been abrogated by succeeding governments, and have been only partially revived by the present emperor. It is no easy task to restore the confidence which has been lost, and to regain the peace which is now everywhere broken. Her majesty's government would deem themselves guilty of great presumption if they were to express an assurance that vague declarations of good intentions, or even the enactment of some wise laws, would make such an impression on the minds of the Polish people as to obtain peace, and restore obedience.

"In the present circumstances, it appears to her majesty's government that nothing less than the following outline of measures should be adopted as the basis of pacification:—1. Complete and general amnesty 2. National representation, with powers similar to those which are fixed by the charter of the 15th (27th) November, 1815. 3. Poles to be named to public offices in such a manner as to form a distinct national administration, having the confidence of the country. 4. Full and entire liberty of conscience; repeal of the restrictions imposed on Catholic worship. 5. The Polish language recognised in the kingdom as the



official language, and used as such in the administration of the law, and in education. 6. The establishment of a regular and legal system of recruiting.

"These six points might serve as the indications of measures to be adopted, after calm and full deliberation. But it is difficult, nay, almost impossible, to create the requisite confidence and calm while the passions of men are becoming daily more excited, their hatred more deadly, their determination to succeed or perish more fixed and immovable. Your lordship has sent me an extract from the *St. Petersburg Gazette*, of the 7th (19th) of May. I could send your lordship, in return, extracts from London newspapers, giving accounts of atrocities equally horrible, committed by men acting on behalf of Russian authority. It is not for her majesty's government to discriminate between the real facts and the exaggeration of hostile parties. Many of the allegations of each are probably unfounded; but some must, in all probability, be true. How, then, are we to hope to conduct to any good end a negotiation carried on between parties thus exasperated? In an ordinary war, the successes of fleets and armies who fight with courage, but without hatred, may be balanced in a negotiation carried on in the midst of hostilities. An island more or less to be transferred, a boundary more or less to be extended, might express the value of the latest victory or conquest. But where the object is to attain civil peace, and to induce men to live under those against whom they have fought with rancour and desperation, the case is different. The first thing to be done, therefore, in the opinion of her majesty's government, is to establish a suspension of hostilities. This might be done, in the name of humanity, by a proclamation of the Emperor of Russia, without any derogation of his dignity. The Poles, of course, would not be entitled to the benefit of such an act unless they themselves refrained from hostilities of every kind during the suspension. Tranquillity thus for the moment restored, the next thing is to consult the powers who signed the treaty of Vienna. Prussia, Spain, Sweden, and Portugal must be asked to give their opinion as to the best mode of giving effect to a treaty to which they were contracting parties.

"What her majesty's government propose, therefore, consists in these three propositions:—1st. The adoption of the six points enumerated as bases of negotiation. 2nd. A provisional suspension of arms, to be proclaimed by the Emperor of Russia. 3rd. A conference of the eight powers who signed the treaty of Vienna."

Thus stimulated, the Polish revolution went on apace, and the aristocracy and the moderate party reluctantly were compelled to join it. The only notice Russia took of Earl Russell's despatch was to bid his lordship look at Ireland. In August, the insurgents, under Lelewel, sustained a total defeat, and Lelewel was slain. The contest was then continued by Czachowski, who was defeated in October, and received wounds of which he died in prison a few days after. And thus, once more in vain, had Poland shed her blood, and cried to Europe for help.

The story of the late revolt will never be truly told. It is in the hands of the Russian government; and it knows that, in such a matter, silence is golden. The *Times'* correspondent wrote, after order again reigned in Poland—"The more fully the particulars of the late Polish rebellion come to light, the greater and graver appears the struggle of that unfortunate race. In making up accounts, the Russian government have now discovered the significant fact, that the number of people who left Warsaw to join the insurrectionary bands in 1862 and 1863, amounted to no less than 8,128, out of a population of 216,000: Of these, 83 were children between 10 and 14 years old; 1,902 were between 20 and 25; 1,463 between 25 and 30; 869 between 30 and 35; 568 between 35 and 40; 376 between 40 and 45; 207 between 45 and 50; 110 between 50 and 55; 62 between 55 and 60; 43 between 60 and 65; 18 between 65 and 70; 9 between 70 and 75; 4 between 75 and 80; 3 between 80 and 85. These figures have been ascertained by comparing the evidence of the police registers with the number of the missing, and the facts elicited by the courts of inquiry; and, as must be naturally the case under the



circumstances, are rather below than above the mark. Among the emigrants, forming actually 4 per cent. of the population, were 6,447 unmarried men, 1,233 husbands, 129 widowers, 181 girls, 83 wives, and 54 widows. Classifying them according to their several professions, we find 2,226 artisans and operatives among the number; 1,066 valets and domestic servants (out of a total of 19,004 of both sexes); 197 members of the civil service, 140 public scribes, 173 pupils in the higher educational establishments, when no more than 600 were attending lectures at the time; 82 schoolboys, 42 of their teachers, 185 soldiers on furlough, 27 officers on half-pay, 9 proprietors of landed estates, 7 doctors, 32 priests, 2 rabbis, 3 Jewish teachers; and so on through every rank and condition of life, down to 44 frail followers of *Venus Vulgiva*."

In 1864, Mr. Cardwell, who had succeeded the Duke of Newcastle at the Colonial Office, found he had enough to do.

First of all, he had to vindicate the conduct of his department in New Zealand. Towards the end of 1863, we received the unwelcome intelligence that the tribes in the northern island had broken out in open revolt, and that we were again at war. The country about Auckland, one of the earliest settled and most flourishing districts of the islands, was the scene of atrocities, which led one to doubt whether a quarter of a century of Christian teaching had had much effect on the cruel and perfidious natives. In the middle of July, Rewi, a chief who had long been the leader of the malcontents, and who is suspected of having instigated some foul murders, began to rouse the Maories in the neighbourhood of Auckland to rebellion. His object was to make a general rising of the northern tribes, particularly the Waikatoes, a warlike race, whose country is close to Auckland; and then, by a sudden movement, to exterminate the settlers. The first act which he contemplated was the murder of some white men on the Waikato River. However, his plot was discovered; the troops were withdrawn from the Taranaki district, where they had been watching some ill-disposed natives; and preparations were made for anticipating the outbreak by a movement against the Waikatoes. While this was taking place, the natives began the struggle by murdering two settlers at a place called Drury, about twenty miles from Auckland. Two days after, an escort was attacked within a short distance of the same place. The soldiers fought with the utmost bravery, driving the natives back into the bush. Finally, the escort made good its retreat to a neighbouring house, where it remained until reinforced; but the loss was no less than four killed and ten wounded. After this, both government and people prepared for war on a large scale. The first military movement was made by General Cameron, with 500 men, advancing against the natives, who, to the number of several hundreds, fought with considerable skill, making a stand at every favourable point, and defending, with the greatest obstinacy, certain positions which they had fortified with lines of rifle-pits. These people belonged to the Waikato tribe, which, from its proximity to Auckland, seemed, at any rate, to have become proficient in the art of warfare. The colony sprang to arms with an alacrity equal to that which the mother country would exhibit if threatened with invasion. It was estimated that in a few weeks there were 4,000 volunteers and militia fully armed. The native warriors were reckoned at 7,500 men. On the 22nd of July, the native settlement of Kizi-Kizi was attacked, and taken, after a vigorous defence, by General Cameron's troops, whose loss was small. From this time the Maories would not meet the British forces in the field, but continued to ravage the province. Then there came disaster, needless and inexcusable, to the British troops, and Sir George Grey was sent to New Zealand, from the Cape. After twelve months of unsatisfactory victories on the part of the British, the long and calamitous warfare with the Maories was brought to a close, in August, 1864, by their almost unconditional submission. The revolt was punished only by a forfeiture of a small part of their lands.

The Colonial Office was rudely assailed on account of an unwise and disastrous



expedition which the governor of Cape Coast Castle had thought fit to organise against the King of Ashantee. In February, 1864, the King of Ashantee, having made war on the Fantees (an African territory under the protection of the British at Cape Coast), who had refused to give up two fugitives claimed by him, Governor Pine ordered a force to be marched, to repel and punish the Ashantees. The wet season set in much earlier than was anticipated; and, without seeing an enemy, or firing a shot, the force of above 1,500 men, chiefly coloured men, officered by Europeans, were prostrated by fever; the loss by death, independent of the suffering, was fearful, and the remains of the expedition were ordered to return. This wretched war was undertaken by Governor Pine with the sanction of the Colonial Office; and we had a war which cost us, so it is said, £1,000 a day. Worse still, it was not till the notice of censure of Sir J. Hay was put on the order-book of the House of Commons, that the *Gladiator* was sent to bring back the wretched survivors.

As an illustration of the way in which matters were managed under Governor Pine, we give the following extract from a letter in the *Times*, August 10th, 1864. The writer describes "a most important post."

"The camp of Swaidroo Akim, situated on an elevation, in the midst of dense forest and underwood, covered about an acre of ground. Its stockading was placed so loosely that I have seen many of the stakes pulled out in a minute by one man. There were four entrances, none of which could be shut in case of attack; any means for doing so having remained unprovided. There was no ditch, neither were there any drawbridges; and the stockading itself, which had, for some time, a gap of fifteen or twenty yards, was partly composed of plantain stems—a material not stronger than cabbage-stalks, and would have afforded an attacking party about the same amount of protection it would to the defendants, owing to there being no loopholes or banquettes to enable the latter to fire on the former. The magazine was within fifteen paces of the best point of attack. It was joined to the store, and could only be entered by that building, which was composed of timber; both were thatched with palm branches, dry and crisp as snuff. There was no tank nor well; nor was there any water within the stockade; neither could any be obtained nearer than a river three-quarters of a mile distant, to which a fatigue party went each day for a daily supply. We had no cannon, nor ordnance of any description, excepting two rocket-tubes, which could only be fired into the air if it was not intended to set fire to the stockading. Will any man believe that such a camp, 120 miles from the base of operations, and which had not an intermediate post, kept our protectorate free from invasion? Its garrison consisted of one small company only; and very often, from disease, not one-half could be relied on. The Ashantees are brave and numerous; and it is well known that, had they desired, they could have brought against the camp an army of 40,000 men, not badly equipped, better adapted, and infinitely better accustomed to bush-fighting than West Indian troops; and that nothing but a precipitate flight could have saved her majesty's soldiers. We have not killed or wounded a single Ashantee; we have not inflicted the slightest chastisement whatever; and we have returned, sick and dirty, to Cape Coast Castle, having destroyed our stores at the two dens."

In 1863, there was great commotion about the burning of Kagosima. It appears, that in spite of the treaty between ourselves and the Japanese, they were very much opposed to the entrance of foreigners into their country; and it was almost impossible to gain redress for the injuries inflicted on them. A Mr. Richardson had been murdered in 1862, under peculiarly atrocious circumstances, by the Prince of Satsuma: and no satisfaction having been obtained from either the michardo or tycoon for it, a British squadron was despatched, under Admiral Kuper, to reduce the fortified town of Kagosima, which was the property of the prince. On August 15th, 1863, a bombardment was commenced, which was vigorously replied to by the forts; but by dusk the town was in flames, and three of the forts silenced. On the following day the attack was renewed; the town was



reduced to a mass of ruins; the palace, arsenal, and three steam-vessels utterly destroyed. The British lost two captains; eleven seamen were killed, and thirty-nine wounded. This vigorous measure led to an animated discussion in the House of Commons. The peace party were indignant. They assumed that an English minister and admiral had not only wantonly burnt a city of 180,000 inhabitants, but that they had also complacently boasted of the proceeding. On fuller information, the population of Kagosima collapsed to 40,000; and it appeared that there had been no loss of life, and but little sacrifice of property.

In 1865, an inexcusable sacrifice of life was perpetrated by certain Indian officers. On the 11th of April, a detachment of 100 men of the Royal Artillery was ordered to march from Mhow to Kirkee. The heats of summer had commenced, and cholera was known to be raging on the line of march. The inevitable consequences followed: the detachment was struck by their terrible enemy after they had been three days on the road; and they were eventually compelled to relinquish their journey, and return to Mhow; but not before twenty-six of their number had been sacrificed, and the remainder had been exposed to the most cruel sufferings. From a parliamentary return, it appears that a grosser story of mere blundering has seldom been told. These unfortunate men belonged to a battery, which it had been determined, at least as early as the 1st of March, to disband, and to distribute among the other batteries of the Bombay army; and it appears to have been the first blunder in the case that, in consequence of some confusion between the adjutant-general's and quartermaster-general's departments, the transfer of the men had been delayed until April. At all events, the quartermaster-general represents himself as "surprised," on his return to headquarters at the beginning of April, at receiving a telegram from General Green, inquiring whether the detachment in question was to be marched to Kirkee. No answer having been sent, the inquiry was repeated on the 10th; and an answer was then despatched the same day, directing the march to take place. The former reports on this part of the subject were so far incorrect, that, in neither of these telegrams from General Green, did he make any protest against the march of the men, or make any allusion to the fact that cholera prevailed on the road. On the very day, however, on which he received the quartermaster-general's telegram, he had occasion to write to head-quarters respecting some deserters who were to be sent up to Mhow for trial. In this communication, which was despatched by post, and not by telegraph, General Green referred, for the first time, to the prevalence of cholera. "I would deprecate," he said, "the men being sent up at all at this time of the year, if it can possibly be avoided, for cholera is on the road; great heat has set in; and I would much prefer to await the first fall of rain;" which would have been in June. This letter was not received at head-quarters until six days afterwards, or on the 17th of April. Immediately on its receipt, the quartermaster-general telegraphed that he would delay the despatch of the deserters; and he added, that "the same objection seemed equally to apply to the proposed march of the artillery." But this was too late. The blunder had been committed. The detachment had marched, as originally ordered, on the 12th; and by the time the telegram was received, they were dying like sheep on the road.

Far away, in Abyssinia, we had also a very unpleasant entanglement. It appears that the king of that country had thrown an English consul, Mr. Cameron, into gaol; and, more than once, there had been a parliamentary discussion on the subject. For a long time the public considered the consul had been imprudent, and had paid the penalty of his imprudence. Then we learnt that the arrest of Consul Cameron was not in any degree his own fault, but arose from the change of policy in the British government with regard to Abyssinia. That we had any particular policy with regard to Abyssinia, was, to most of us, a matter of astonishment. It appears, then, that our policy towards Abyssinia has been, to countenance her to maintain her independence against the Turks. In



1849, we appear, for this purpose, to have executed a treaty with the then sovereign of Abyssinia; and the Abyssinian pilgrims to Jerusalem were placed under the care of Bishop Gobat; and, in his absence, of the British consul there. The Copts and Armenians in Jerusalem kept up a constant annoyance of the Abyssinians; and finally, making an unhandsome use of the fact that all the Abyssinian monks had died of the plague, destroyed their title-deeds, took possession of their convent, and sold it to the Russians for 60,000 roubles—as it would seem, with the sanction of the Turkish authorities. The Emperor Theodore retaliated for these injuries by ill-treating the Coptic patriarch. The Abyssinians were expelled from Jerusalem, on the ground that they were Turkish subjects; and arrived, in a state of destitution and misery, in their native country, much to the indignation of the emperor. It appeared, also, that we agreed, in 1849, to keep open the avenues of approach betwixt the sea-coast and Abyssinia; whereas we had since consented to the acquisition, by Egypt from Turkey, of the territory of Massorah, which is the only access from Abyssinia to the sea. The emperor claimed to hold Consul Cameron as a hostage for the recognition of the independence of Abyssinia, in accordance with our treaty of 1849; for the repression of Egyptian outrage along the frontier; for the restitution of the Abyssinian church and convent at Jerusalem; and for the reopening of the communication with the sea by Massorah. Other accounts laid the blame of his imprisonment on the government, for neglecting to answer the letter sent by the Emperor Theodore, on the occasion of his accession to his hereditary throne. In the House of Commons, in a debate which took place on the subject in June, 1864, Sir Hugh Cairns contended that the government had neglected Mr. Cameron. Mr. Layard insisted that he had become involved by his own indiscretion, and that the government had done all in its power to obtain his release. The negotiations on the subject were tedious and protracted; but they were not to be regretted if they taught us to withdraw our consuls from places where they cannot be sheltered by the power of England. It was something very much like absurdity to place a man in such a position. Here was a barbarous prince, almost inaccessible to arms, who had got a British agent completely within his power. Negotiating with him for the release of his prisoner, was like coaxing a cat to give up a mouse. Any appearance of violence would have been fatal, as the victim would have been sacrificed before any help could have arrived.

In the North American colonies a desire for union began to express itself, for which we may augur happily as to the future of that great district, peopled with English colonists, and rejoicing under English rule. The domestic troubles in the republic, and the unprotected state of the colonial frontier, led the leading men of all parties to see the propriety—we might write, the necessity—of some such step. A scheme for a confederation was framed by a congress of delegates; and there is reason to hope that, sooner or later, it will be adopted by the various legislatures, with the cordial sanction of the imperial government. It was proposed that a governor-general, appointed by the crown, should preside over a parliament, consisting of a council appointed for life, and a representative body, which adopted the great historical name of the House of Commons. With a wise regard for harmonious action, it was stipulated that the first members of the council should be chosen from the various colonies, in a fair proportion; from the supporters of the actual governments, and from the ranks of the local opposition. The House of Commons, like the lower house of the American Congress, is to represent the whole population, according to the latest census; the basis of calculation consisting in a fixed number of members permanently assigned to Lower Canada. The several colonies, like the states of the American Union, are to manage their domestic affairs by means of provincial assemblies; and their lieutenant-governors are to be appointed by the crown, on the recommendation of the governor-general. The scheme necessarily resembles the constitution of the United States, as it is adapted to a precisely similar condition of society; but some of the defects which experience



has disclosed in the older fabric appear to have been judiciously avoided. Residuary powers, which have not been specifically appropriated, are to be referred to the general government. In the last session of the parliament which met under Lord Palmerston's auspices, the scheme was made matter of prominent notice in the queen's speech. The subject became invested with additional importance in consequence of the action of the United States' government. In March, 1865, Earl Russell laid on the table the formal notice, from that government, of the termination, at the end of a year, of the reciprocity treaty between itself and Canada. At the same time, his lordship expressed his regret that anything should disturb our amicable relations with the government of America; and gave utterance to the hope that, within the twelvemonth, some satisfactory agreement or convention might be made—a hope which does not appear to have been realised at present.

The closing weeks of Lord Palmerston's life were clouded with a great calamity. On the 11th of August, 1865, an insurrection of the negroes broke out in Jamaica, in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, near Morant Bay. The outbreak was accompanied by some atrocious murders, burning of property, and plunder; but it was put down in a manner which clearly evinced that Governor Eyre had lost his head, and that the officers under him had acted recklessly and illegally, and had brought lasting disgrace on the British name. Mr. Eyre was recalled, and Sir H. Storks was sent out in his stead. A commission was appointed by the government, to inquire into the whole affair. They agreed to a report, which was published next year. The document was of great length; but its conclusions are brief:—"First, the commissioners say that the disturbances at St. Thomas-in-the-East originated in a planned resistance to lawful authority. 2. That the causes of this insurrection were threefold: (a.) A wish of the negroes to get the land rent-free. (b.) Their want of confidence in the administration of the law. (c.) Personal and political motives. 3. That had the insurgents gained any advantage, there is reason to believe that the whole island would have been in a state of insurrection. 4. That Governor Eyre exhibited skill, promptitude, and vigour during the first part of the insurrection; and that, by that means, he put down the disturbances. 5. That the military and naval operations were prompt and judicious. 6. That martial law was continued too long; and, 7. That the punishments inflicted were excessive." Accompanying this report, is a despatch from Mr. Cardwell to Sir Henry Storks, in which he expresses his concurrence in the conclusions of the commissioners; and goes, at some length, into the case of Mr. Gordon, whose trial and execution are events which the government cannot but deplore and condemn.

In a leader on the subject, the *Times* wrote—"Our readers will be prepared to hear that Gordon's trial and execution occupy a very large space in the report. We cannot but regret that, upon this most important subject of inquiry, as well as upon some others, the commissioners forbear to draw the legitimate inferences from the materials which they have collected. In the 'comment on the case of Mr. Gordon,' there is really nothing to show whether, in their opinion, Mr. Eyre was justified in sending him to Morant Bay at all. They detail, at considerable length, the previous disturbances in the parish of St. Thomas-in-the-East, in which Gordon had taken an active part; the evidence bearing on his connection with Paul Bogle; the language and acts imputed to him immediately before and after the massacre; and the circumstances of his trial. Upon the whole, they conclude that no sufficient proof has even yet been adduced—much less was adduced before the court-martial—'either of his complicity in the outbreak at Morant Bay, or of his having been party to a general conspiracy against the government.' Now, if 'the evidence, oral and documentary, was wholly insufficient' to prove the guilt of Gordon, it seems to follow that he was unjustly condemned, and that Governor Eyre ought not to have confirmed the sentence; but the commissioners do not explicitly say so, nor is there the slightest allusion to Gordon's case in the 'conclusions' at the end of the report. Here, again, we must refer to Mr. Cardwell's



despatch for an impartial commentary on the facts elicited by the inquiry. After referring to Mr. Eyre's explanation of his own course, Mr. Cardwell observes that, so far from any necessity existing for the summary delivery of Gordon to the jurisdiction of Lieutenant Brand, an obvious alternative suggested itself, and was recommended by Mr. Westmoreland. Once on board the *Wolverene*, he might have been kept there in safe custody until he could be tried by the ordinary process of law; as it was, the formality of his transmission to Morant Bay added nothing to the legality of his execution." If valuable life had not been lost—if disgrace had not been brought on the nation which commits such things, many facts have subsequently appeared, which have placed the conduct of some of the British authorities in the most ridiculous light. For instance: Mr. Eyre wrote to have a ship tried by court-martial, and was highly indignant that the order was not obeyed at once. In England, the Quakers, and the hereditary friends of the blacks—such as Mr. Charles Buxton—were up in arms immediately. A Jamaica committee was formed, of which Mr. John Stuart Mill was one; and it was resolved that the government be urged to bring Mr. Eyre to trial, "as well as his principal coadjutors in the so-called insurrection at Morant Bay: and that, in case Mrs. Gordon should take proceedings against the persons concerned in the illegal execution of her late husband, the committee will render her such assistance as is in their power."

The decision of the "Jamaica committee" to prosecute Mr. Eyre for his share in the death of Mr. Gordon, was not arrived at without a protest from Mr. Charles Buxton. In a very temperate and able letter, Mr. Buxton pointed out, that no one "who has due regard to truth, can deny that Mr. Eyre really shared in the belief, universal, at the moment, among all the white and coloured men of the island, that such a conspiracy had existed, and that Mr. Gordon was, to a great extent, guilty of promoting it." Under the circumstances, no one can regard the course taken by Mr. Eyre as involving him in the guilt of murder. He goes on to show, that not even those who advocated the trial of the late governor, can desire that he should be hanged. In the improbable case of his conviction, he would undoubtedly receive a free pardon; but it is still more likely that he would never be convicted at all. Mr. Buxton adds—"As things stand, we have, at any rate, achieved a considerable amount of success. At any rate, Mr. Eyre has been dismissed with severe censure, thoroughly endorsed by the British public; and it would be impossible for any government again to employ an officer whose misconduct has been so fully exposed. The punishment that has befallen him is not adequate—is, indeed, far from being adequate to his offences; but still it is sufficient to be a serious warning to others. But all the good effect of this example would be done away, were he tried, and deliberately acquitted, or pardoned by the queen, amid the plaudits of the British people." He closes his letter by intimating that, as he cannot hope to carry his views against an overwhelming majority in the committee, he retires from the chairmanship; and, from the wording of his resignation, apparently from all connection with its future proceedings.

Mr. Eyre was not, however, without influential friends. On his return to this country, he was invited to a great banquet at Southampton, with the Earl of Cardigan in the chair; and a committee was formed to aid him in his defence, of which such distinguished men as Professor Kingsley, Thomas Carlyle, and John Ruskin formed a part. They called upon society to hail Governor Eyre as a saviour, who had struck down a rebellion which threatened indescribable horrors to the white population of Jamaica.

On his way to this country, Colonel Hobbs, one of the most active participants in the suppression of what he deemed rebellion, committed suicide. His brother wrote to the *Times* to vindicate his memory, as he had been charged with wanton and unnecessary cruelty in dealing with the negroes. "Now," says the *Times*, "if the question is to be raised at all, it must not be forgotten that any



unfavourable impressions which have prevailed against Colonel Hobbs were produced originally by his own despatches. When a responsible officer of mature age, engaged in quelling an outbreak, which may either be a riot or a rebellion, writes to head-quarters to say that he regrets the not having shot six unarmed prisoners, 'as they are, no doubt, rebels;' that he has killed between fifteen and twenty negroes, whom he likewise assumed to be rebels, 'at extraordinary long distances,' 'on the hill sides and in trees;' that he has fired all the vacant houses in one locality; that he has 'utterly destroyed' a whole settlement in another; and so forth—there is no harshness in concluding that he has, at least, adopted a very ruthless mode of warfare. When he goes on to inform General O'Connor, in another despatch, that he has ordered eleven prisoners to be shot at once, 'finding their guilt clear, and being unable to either take or leave them,' adding the remark, that 'their countenances were all diabolical, and they never flinched the very slightest,' there is no want of charity in ascribing to the writer—in default of evidence to the contrary—loose ideas of justice, and a culpable indifference to the value of human life. When he affirms, afterwards, that, having in his possession 'the most conclusive proof of Mr. G. W. Gordon being a chief mover in this rebellion,' he has sent an express to Morant Bay, 'requesting him to be sent to me (if there) *for execution*,' and when he follows up this assertion by a minute description of the means whereby he stimulates the intelligence of 'Paul Bogle's valet,' and assists him to identify the ringleaders, it is not altogether unreasonable that he should be taken at his word. Now, these assertions were actually and literally contained in letters written by Colonel Hobbs, and forwarded by Governor Eyre to the Colonial Office—letters which, as the colonel subsequently declared, were never intended to be published; but which, like all other categorical statements on matters of fact, must either have been true or false. Colonel Hobbs himself, when examined before the commission, virtually accepted the latter alternative, and represented some of them to have been false, if not false to his own knowledge; others he explained away, and some he avowed with a justification. For instance, he distinctly retracted the very circumstantial story about Anderson, Paul Bogle's valet, denying, in direct contradiction of his own written words, that any rope was ever attached to his own stirrup, or that of any one else. The fifteen or twenty negroes supposed to have been picked off at long ranges, dwindled down to vanishing point, like the men in buckram, upon close investigation. The troops had fired at them, and boasted of killing them; but the colonel had since ascertained that they 'had merely dropped into the grass without being hurt.' As for the eleven whose guilt was clear, and who, partly on this ground, and partly because it was impossible either to take or leave them, were executed on the spot, no such plea was available. These unfortunate people were past resuscitation; but Colonel Hobbs protested, that in disposing of them in this summary way, he had been mainly influenced by the free and easy note from Colonel Elkington, which deprecated any consignments of prisoners, and dwelt with admiration on the services of two other officers who were 'hanging like fun,' and shooting every black man who could give no account of himself. The most 'conclusive proof' of G. W. Gordon's guilt resolved itself, under the same process, into the asseverations of 'about fifty persons,' that a man named Gordon was connected with the insurrection, coupled with the discovery of a lamp, which Anderson said had been presented by him, in Paul Bogle's chapel."

Undoubtedly, affairs are in a very unsettled state in the West India Islands. More than half the large estates that were growing sugar in 1834, are now thrown up. In 1805, Jamaica had 859 sugar estates in cultivation; and exported 137,000 hogsheads of sugar, and 24,000,000 lbs. of coffee. In 1834, these figures had already declined to 646 estates in cultivation, and export of 79,465 hogsheads of sugar, and 17,859,277 lbs. of coffee. In 1862, the export of sugar had sunk to 33,097 hogsheads; and finally, in 1865, to 23,750 hogsheads, grown on 300 estates. As the hogshead of sugar costs, in wages, about £11, the diminution



of 10,000 hogsheads in four years, shows, in that time, a reduction of wages to the labouring population of £110,000. The population, meanwhile, has, in the last quarter of a century, increased by 100,000 souls; so that a larger population has had a smaller amount of wages to expend; and this at a time when there has been an immense advance in the price of clothing, and other articles of import. Still we are not to gather from this gloomy picture that emancipation has failed, that the islands are going to decay, or that the blacks are worse off than they were.

"My own opinion," writes Governor Eyre himself, in a despatch to Mr. Cardwell, of August 19th, 1865, "is (greatly as I regret being compelled to admit it), that Jamaica, like some of the other smaller West India Islands, is in a state of transition; that it is, in fact, gradually passing into the hands of quite a different class of proprietors from that which held possession some thirty years ago." Now we do not, with Mr. Mill's testimony to the happiness of small peasant proprietors, at all regret this change: nor did that able and wise governor, Sir Charles Darling, a West Indian himself; who, in a despatch of December 26th, 1860, says—"I look upon it as a settled point, that the great mass of the emancipated population, and their descendants, are betaking themselves to the cultivation of the soil on their own account, either as a source of profit, or as the mere means of subsistence. The proportion of those who are settling themselves industriously on their own holdings, and rapidly rising in the social scale, while commanding the respect of all classes of the community (and some of whom are, to a limited extent, themselves the employers of hired labour, paid for either in money or in kind), is, however, I am happy to think, not only steadily increasing, but, at the present moment, is far more extensive than was anticipated by those ignorant of all that took place in this colony in the earlier days of negro freedom. There can be no doubt, in fact, that an independent, respectable, and, I believe, trustworthy middle class is rapidly forming." He concludes the despatch in question as follows:—"Thus it is that Jamaica presents, as I believe, at once the strongest proof of the complete success of the great measure of emancipation, as relates to the capacity of the emancipated race for freedom, and the most unfortunate instance of a descent in the scale of agricultural and commercial importance as a colonial community."

As an illustration of the change referred to, let us take the testimony of Mr. Samuel Rennals, custos of St. Thomas-in-the-Vale, in a letter of March 23rd, 1865. He says—"In the district in which I reside for a portion of the year, and in which I possess property, realising a rent-roll from land tenanted by negroes, of between £200 and £250 a year, the population numbers from 5,000 to 6,000 souls, according to the last census of 1861. There are no sugar estates, nor are there any properties of any extent carried on by the owners in the cultivation of coffee, or any other export. The lands are rented out in small lots (generally from one to five acres each) to labourers; and, immediately upon emancipation, they purchased freeholds, now planted with coffee, arrowroot, and the usual ground provisions, as well as Indian corn, to a very considerable extent of acreage. In fact, they are formed into a very numerous middle class; and I do not believe that they would be induced, under any circumstances whatever, to become, in the general acceptance of the term, a labouring class."

Governor Eyre confirms this statement. In a despatch of April 10th, 1865, after speaking of the imports of the last five years, he says, that "the labouring classes, by the cultivation of coffee, honey, beeswax, ginger, and other products, have themselves largely added to the value of the general exports of the colony during the same period." Dr. Hamilton, a member of the executive committee, writes—"Since emancipation, a large number of the then existing coffee plantations have been thrown out of cultivation; and yet, since 1860, the average exports of coffee have not diminished. Had Dr. Underhill, or his correspondents, travelled through the coffee districts, they would have found that this was due to



the number of small settlers who now grow coffee on their little freeholds; and if the exports of ginger, beeswax, honey, &c., are considered (all of which are the produce of the small freeholders), it will be apparent that these branches of industry are not in the deplorable condition Dr. Underhill would have us believe." Mr. Shaw, inspector of prisons, under the date of April 20th, 1865, expresses himself to the same effect. We also gather that, in many cases, the small proprietors are taking to the cultivation of sugar. Dr. Bowerbank, custos of Kingston, writes, March 15th, 1865—"We are assured by those who best know the country, that the cultivation of sugar, on a small scale, and by a middle and better class of labourers, is rapidly increasing. \* \* \* An American workman, in a distant parish, has manufactured and put up forty small sugar-mills, and is now engaged in erecting six more. The rollers and frame are of wood, with iron cogwheels. They can be made and put up for £5 or £6 a set. The demand for mills at this price is more than he can meet; and so pressing is the call for them, that he has at present engaged extra tradesmen in manufacturing them. Hundreds of these small mills are already in operation." Other custodes testify to the same fact. Mr. Lewis Mackinnon writes from Vere—"The island is getting gradually covered with nice cottages and thriving settlements, where not only vegetables, but sugar and coffee are grown to a considerable extent." Another says—"Each year more land is cleared for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, arrowroot, &c." Again, says another—"The peasantry here not only raise ground provisions, but may produce the staples of the colony—sugar and coffee, beeswax, cocoa, arrowroot, starch, tobacco, cotton, and other minor products."

From these facts we can quite understand the value the blacks put on land, and the unfriendly feeling with which the new order of things is received in certain quarters. Our readers will remember that the outbreak at Morant Bay originally resulted from a dispute about the possession of land. Yet this feeling ought not to tinge and colour the conduct of the official class in the way in which it does. It is clear that the days of the great planter are gone; that his reign is over; that a new order of things has arisen; and it is in vain that we kick against pricks, or war with the stars or the course of nature. From the tendency of the people to buy small properties, and cultivate them, there is at present no escape. The larger planters may still talk about assistance by loan from the mother country. General Eyre writes, August 19th, 1865—"I have myself no faith in the resuscitation of the bygone prosperity and still decaying interests of the Jamaica planters, through the instrumentality of any adventitious stimulus, such as a government loan is intended to be." And, if we are wise, instead of regretting the past, we shall encourage the small proprietors all we can, and wait for the dawn of better days in Jamaica—better days which, we fear, the recklessness and cruelty with which the blacks were treated by the panic-struck whites—headed by Governor Eyre—must be postponed for some time to come.

Parliamentary papers, subsequently published, in a remarkable degree illustrate and confirm the suspicions entertained in many quarters as to the wisdom displayed on the occasion of the outbreak. For instance, there is the case of General Lamothe. It appears that the general—an officer in the Haytian service—had left Hayti in consequence of political differences with the dominant party, and had been quietly living at Kingston for many years. A few days before the outbreak, he embarked with his son and three friends on board the schooner *Oracle*, which had been chartered by a house at Kingston, to take a miscellaneous cargo to Hayti. The *Oracle*, having been at sea six days, was driven back by a strong wind, and compelled to take refuge in Port Antonio. But in the meanwhile the outbreak in Jamaica had taken place; and although it had been put down, Port Antonio was under martial law. Governor Eyre had made up his mind that all the Haytian refugees in Jamaica were conspirators against the throne and dignity of the queen, and had had those at Kingston arrested, including the paralytic ex-Emperor Soulouque; so that when the *Oracle* returned, the Haytians on board

would probably have been made prisoners, even if it had not been found that the schooner had powder on board. The fact that the powder had been openly shipped at Kingston, with the observance of all due formality, was overlooked or thought of no consequence. In times of danger and excitement, however, it is better to err on the side of excessive vigilance; and we cannot blame the authorities for taking the *Oracle* in charge for a time. But there was never the least reason for connecting the Haytians with the Jamaica outbreak; and the inquiries which have been made into the complaints of General Lamothe, show that gross and wanton outrages had taken place, which nothing could excuse. The general complained to Earl Russell that he had been robbed and treated with the utmost indignity, and Lord Russell induced the Admiralty to order an official investigation, which has established the main charges. It appears by the evidence that, when a guard was put on board the *Oracle* by Lieutenant Irvine, of the *Aboukir*, he did not place any responsible naval officer in charge. The trunks of the passengers were broken open, no inventories were taken, and the cabin was ransacked and cleared out. These facts are made out to the satisfaction of Admiral Hope, who blames Captain Luke, of the 6th Foot, the officer in command at Port Antonio. On the 25th of October, General Lamothe and his party were embarked on board the *Wolverene*, conveyed to Port Royal, and transferred to the *Aboukir*, where he complains they were "exposed to public derision." On this part of his letter, the Court of Inquiry report:—"We find that, during the time General Lamothe and his party were prisoners on the starboard side of the main deck of the *Aboukir*—viz., from the evening of the 29th, to the afternoon of the 31st October—they were exposed to offensive epithets and jeers from the men on board the *Aboukir*." Commander Smith tells us what was the nature of the insults offered by common seamen to a general officer, who was simply under precautionary detention. In a sentence in which delicacy and frankness are curiously blended, he says—"The jeering was of a nature which referred to the certainty of the Haytians getting a d—d good thrashing, and the probability of General Lamothe and his party getting hanged." Oddly enough, Captain Smith says, elsewhere—"Relative to his treatment, I can only say that, before leaving the ship, General Lamothe thanked me for the attention he had received on board." Of course, when Captain Smith found out what was going on, he stopped the annoyance; but before this was done, a drunken sailor of the *Bulldog* had slapped the general on the mouth, and called him an "old negro." The general's complaints become, moreover, mournfully ludicrous in the impassioned style of his letter:—"Am I among civilised men or among savages? I exclaimed, in the heat of my indignation. Why do you not kill me at once?" The letters which describe these transactions are very sorrowful reading. Of course, an apology will be made to General Lamothe; and he will be compensated for the ill-usage he has received. But the individual grievance is nothing compared with the damage done to the character of the public service, when such outrages are shown to be possible on board a British man-of-war. "If we had read first in any foreign paper," says a writer in the *Daily News*, "the statements which now come to us, confirmed by the most authentic evidence, we should have denounced them as foul libels, which could by no possibility be true."

We can only add, that the events recorded here will, we hope, teach a lesson, needed in certain quarters. In George III.'s time, Governor Wall was hung for cruelty, after an interval of twenty years had elapsed. We have no wish to see a similar fate overtake Governor Eyre. But we have it in evidence that 1,000 houses were wantonly burnt; and that the "total number of deaths, caused by those engaged in the suppression, amounted to 439."



## CHAPTER XXIII.

## DE MORTUIS.

WE have incidentally described the deaths of many of the great men who illustrated and adorned the Palmerston era. Some of them had been his contemporaries and rivals in the political arena; some he had followed to the grave; with most of them he had been, more or less, mixed up in the free intercourse of poetical life. We must note here, briefly, a few of the representative men who pre-deceased his lordship.

One of these was the late Mr. Assheton Smith, who died in 1858. He was a denizen of the same county as Lord Palmerston; and, like him, a mighty hunter. He was exactly half a century a master and owner of hounds. "Of iron nerve and constitution, he was," says his biographer, Sir Eardley Wilmot, "the best, as he was the foremost rider of the day. Fox-hunting, however, though his chief, was not his only pursuit. As a most useful country gentleman, a good classical scholar, an excellent man of business, warmly devoted to science, and a generous distributor of his wealth, he turned to a good and useful account those mental, and physical, and worldly advantages wherewith Providence had liberally endowed him." This is high praise—perhaps a little too high—for Mr. Smith was in parliament for a time, and he was a Tory of the old school; and we know if the Tories of the old school had had their way, England, long ere this, would have been irretrievably ruined. Neither can we think Mr. Smith's piety was of the deepest, if we are to judge by his biographer's arguments in its behalf. "Mr. Smith had," he tells us, "a most simple and devout faith, his favourite motto being—'Whatever happens, all is for the best;' and whenever he saw any one in sorrow or distress, he always said—'We must submit to God's will, whatever it is.'" In a man born to £45,000 a year—for his landed estates brought him in £15,000 a year; and his slate quarries near Carnarvon, yielded £30,000 a year—resignation to his lot, if it was a virtue, was not one of a very trying character. But to return to Mr. Assheton Smith. He was born in Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, on the 2nd of August, 1776. As a boy he was inflexible and stubborn in his resolutions. At Eton, to which school he was sent when seven years old, he excelled in cricket. Boating was also one of his favourite diversions; but his Eton career was principally rendered remarkable by his battle with Jack Musters—the Musters who married Lord Byron's beautiful Mary Chaworth—still spoken of by Etonians as one of the most hard-fought and severe contests ever recorded in the annals of youthful pugilism. At Nottingham, when standing in opposition to the Radical candidate in 1818, this pugilistic prowess stood him in good stead. He was the unpopular candidate, and no one would listen to him. At length, with a stentorian voice, heard above the uproar, he cried out, "Gentlemen, as you refuse to hear the exposition of my political principles, at least be so kind as to listen to these few words:—I will fight any man, little or big, directly I leave the hustings, and will have a round with him now for love." The effect was electric—he had touched a sympathetic chord: instead of yells and groans, there were rounds of cheers; and though he was beaten, no further opposition was offered him. In 1794, young Smith became a gentleman commoner at Christchurch, Oxford. Already he had become distinguished as a rider; and, in 1800, we find him signalled in song as a most daring and successful horseman. In 1806, he succeeded Lord Foley at Quorn: here, with a fine stud and splendid hounds, he kept the game alive for ten years. In 1816, Mr. Smith took his stud to Lincoln to work the Burton Hunt. He held this capital country for eight years, until 1824, when he was succeeded by Sir Richard Sutton; and, after an interval of ten years, during which

he hunted chiefly at Belvoir, went into Hampshire. In 1827 he married; and in the following year, on the death of his father, he removed his hunting establishment, and soon after set about making extensive alterations: the old house was pulled down; but the chief improvement effected was the metamorphosis of that formerly intractable woodland country about Tedworth, into a fine fox-hunting district. His stables and kennels were built on his own plans. In 1845, Sir Eardley saw there fifty horses in the stables, including hunters, carriage-horses, and hacks, all in first-rate condition, and each apparently as familiar with the squire as a pet dog. The summer months were generally passed by Mr. Smith on his property in Carnarvon, where he had ample scope for indulging in his sea-going propensities. In 1829, Mr. Smith practically turned his attention to the building of steam-vessels; and it is a moot point whether to himself or Mr. Scott Russell is to be given the credit of discovering the hollow water-lines. Mr. Smith was also the first to recommend to the Duke of Wellington, when on a visit to Tedworth, the formation of a fleet of gun-boats. At the instance of his grace the idea was made known to the First Lord of the Admiralty. Some time after, when walking down Regent Street, Mr. Smith met the gentleman in question, of whom he asked if his letter had been received. The First Lord replied that it had, but that the Admiralty could not pay attention to all the recommendations made to them. Upon this Mr. Smith took off his hat, and, turning away from him with a stately bow, observed—"What his grace the Duke of Wellington considered worthy of attention, I think your lordship might at least have condescended to notice." Until Mr. Smith had reached his eightieth year he showed no sign of physical or mental decay. His head was as clear, and his hand as firm as they had been twenty years before. If he felt himself not quite well of a morning, he used to plunge his head into cold water, and hold it there as long as he could. His end was peaceful. Teetotallers will be glad to learn that, in his mode of living, Mr. Smith was peculiarly abstemious as regarded drinking; but in eating he indulged more freely, and his appetite was surprising. The immense exercise which he was daily in the habit of taking, and his early hours in the morning, required an adequate supply of nourishment; and after his severest day's work he was never "off his feed." His well-knit and manly frame, combined with great activity in the use of his limbs, rendered him successful in all athletic sports. In his youth he was a first-rate swimmer, rower, cricketer, and shot; as a player of billiards he had obtained eminence; as a landlord he was kind and judicious; as the village squire, while he feasted all the great, he never forgot the small. His charities seem to have been many; but then he was rich, and had no children. His chief fame, however, is as a fox-hunter. The Emperor Napoleon addressed him as *Le Premier Chasseur d'Angleterre*. The Parisians knew him as *Le Grand Chasseur Smit*. There has not been a book published that does not allot to him the highest place as a master of hounds, a huntsman, and a rider. Such a man, it is true, did not play a high part in the world's drama. To live for fox-hunting seems somewhat ignoble: but Mr. Smith did what he undertook to do thoroughly; he lived on his estates, and he promoted the prosperity of all around him. He was a public benefactor, by sustaining those field-sports which do so much to invigorate our national character. He may not have been a model man altogether; but few men in his time lived more honourable and manly lives.—Nor must we forget Sir Tatton Sykes, the great Yorkshire baronet—famed in the annals of the turf—who died at an extreme old age; and who kept up his enjoyment of life almost to the very last. Then there was Viscount Combermere, better known as Sir Willoughby Cotton, a companion-in-arms, in India and the Peninsula, of Arthur, Duke of Wellington—a hero of whose memory the British army may well be proud. And here, also, we must record the name of Charles Waterton, the great naturalist, of Waterton Hall, who had travelled in pursuit of his favourite studies in many lands; and who had ridden on the back of an alligator—a feat justly considered unparalleled in his time. We must also add to the list Sir James Outram, of



Indian fame; Sir James Clark Ross, the Arctic navigator; General Sir Howard Douglas, the military engineer, who lived to be eighty-six; and the great Earl of Dundonald, who, in the year 1860, and at the age of eighty-two, departed this life, after he had vindicated his fair fame, cruelly sacrificed to party animosities in his youth; and had won the honours—late, but not too late—from his sovereign to which his courage, his sailor-like daring, and his great sagacity, undoubtedly gave him the most righteous claim. Lord Palmerston had seen that family of warriors—Sir C. Napier, the conqueror of Scinde; Sir William, the historian of the Peninsular war; Sir Charles, the admiral—all gathered to their fathers. The soldiers and sailors; the hunters and sportsmen; the mighty men of war, who had won victories, and been recorded in *Gazettes*; who had blazed in the full sunshine of London life and gaiety—the men who had been the fashion—the proud beauties who had been the rage—had, one after another, passed away; and it was left to Lord Palmerston to connect with the new age these great men and lovely women of the past.

In his own particular sphere as a leader of society, and a parliamentary chief, what food for reflection must he have had in thinking of those who had gone before. He had outlived Crockford's, the members of which included, writes Captain Gronow, all the celebrities of England, from the Duke of Wellington to the youngest ensign of the Guards; and at whose gay and festive board, "which was constantly replenished from midnight to early dawn, the most brilliant sallies of wit, the most agreeable conversation, the most interesting anecdotes, interspersed with grave political discussions and acute logical reasoning, proceeded from the soldiers, scholars, statesmen, poets, and men of pleasure, who, when the House was up, and balls and parties at an end, delighted to finish their evening with a little supper, and a good deal of hazard, at old Crockey's." In 1843, died old Lord Allen, one of the last of the prince-regent set. He, writes Captain Gronow, greatly resembled, in later life, an ancient grey parrot, both in the aquiline outline of his features, and his peculiar mode of walking with one foot crossed over the other, in a slow and easy manner. He was a regular cockney, and very seldom left London; but, on one occasion, when he had gone down to Dover, for the sake of his health, and complained to his facetious friend that he could get no sleep, Alvanley ordered a coach to drive up and down in front of the windows all night, and made the "boots" call out, in imitation of the London watchman of that day—"Half-past two, and a stormy night." The well-known rumble of the wheels, and the dulcet tones of the boots, had the desired effect. The "King," as he was termed, passed excellent nights, and was soon able to return to his little house in South Street, with renewed health and spirits. Another great dandy, who died only so lately as 1861, was Ball Hughes, in his youth considered a good match by all the women in London; and who made a great sensation by marrying a beautiful Spanish *danseuse*, named Mercandotti (who had been engaged for the season for £1,800, at the King's Theatre), to the intense disappointment of fashionable society. Captain Gronow writes—

"One night, March 1st, 1823, the house was enormously crowded by an audience eager to see the favourite in the then popular ballet by Auber, *Alfred*; when, just before the curtain drew up, the manager came forward, and expressed his regret that Mademoiselle Mercandotti had disappeared, and that he had been unable to discover whither she had gone. Knowing ones, however, guessed that she had been carried off by the golden Ball, whose advances had been very favourably received, and who had evidently made a strong impression on the damsel; and a few days after, the *Morning Post* announced that a marriage had taken place between a young man of large fortune, and one of the most remarkable dancers of the age. The persons present at the marriage were, the mother of the bride, Mr. Ebers, and Lord Fife. The honeymoon was passed at Oatlands, which the happy bridegroom had shortly purchased before from the Duke of York."

Ainsworth wrote the following epigram on this event—

“The fair damsel is gone ; and no wonder at all,  
That, bred to the dance, she is gone to a Ball.”

It is needless to observe that the golden Ball died, comparatively speaking, a poor man. His love of gaming was such that, at one period of his life, he would rather play at pitch and toss than be without his favourite excitement. He told Gronow that at one time he had lost considerable sums at battledoor and shuttlecock. On one occasion, immediately after dinner, he and the eccentric Lord Petersham commenced playing with these toys, and continued hard at work during the whole of the night; next morning he was found by his valet lying on the ground, fast asleep, but ready for any species of speculation. Another of the set was Scrope Davies, the friend of Byron and Moore. Deserted by fortune and friends, as all gamblers, sooner or later, are, Davies retired to the continent. Having heard that Brummell had obtained a consulship when Lord Melbourne came into office, Scrope went over to London, and had an interview with the noble lord; but he told his friends—“Lamb looked so sheepish when I was ushered into his presence, that I asked him for nothing; indeed, there were so many nibbling at his grass, that I felt I ought not to jump over the fence into the meadow upon which such animals were feeding.”

Lord Palmerston also outlived, not merely the Four-in-hand Club—consisting originally of Lord Sefton, Lord Barrymore, Colonel Berkeley (afterwards Earl Fitzhardinge), Mr. Akers, Sir Bellingham Graham, Sir Henry Peyton, Mr. Clutterbuck, Mr. Cholmondeley, of Vale Royal; Sir John Lade, Mr. Fenwick, Lord Worcester, and the Hon. Major Forrester—but the second club of the same sort, revived in 1838, by Lord Chesterfield and others. His lordship must have been familiar with the black carriage and black horses of Lord Onslow, too eccentric to obtain the suffrages of any of the Four-in-hand Club, and whose memory is embalmed in four lines, which posterity will not willingly let die. They are as follows:—

“What can Tommy Onslow do?  
He can drive a curricule and two.  
Can Tommy Onslow do no more?  
Yes, he can drive a phaeton and four.”

Another of these worthies, whose turn-out always made a sensation from its excessive elegance, was a man named Richards, better known by the cognomen of Tom Pipes, from the following circumstance. Having run through an enormous fortune, he was compelled to borrow money at an exorbitant interest; and a well-known tobacconist, in Oxford Street, lent him large sums on condition that Richards should take one-half the amount in tobacco-pipes, and other such commodities; and the needy man was always inviting his friends to take off his hands a portion of this stock in trade. He, of course, like all other borrowers upon *post obit* bonds, became completely ruined; and one kind friend obtained for him what was, in those days, a refuge of the destitute—a consulship. It was to Nantes he went; but his pecuniary difficulties hung about him, and he got into scrapes, and lost his appointment.

In the gossiping pages of Captain Gronow we hear of names now having no meaning, but full of the gay world in which Viscount Palmerston shone. There was the beautiful soldier's daughter, Kate North, who, in her poverty and despair, had accepted the protection of the Duke of York. One summer morning a friend of the duke's called upon her, and told her that his royal highness would be under the necessity of giving up his connexion with her; for he had promised the king, his father, that if his debts were paid, he would never more see the object of his affection. Poor Kate's heart was full: she could not reply to the messenger; but, bursting into tears, hid her face, and flew out of the room. The sting which had been inflicted was more than she could bear, and she was seized with brain fever; but, with much care and quiet, in course of time, the poor creature recovered her



health and composure of mind. There was no woman so much admired in London at the time as Kate North: her bewitching manners, the charm and grace of her conversation, brought to her pretty house in Green Street innumerable admirers. Among those anxious to woo her, a noble Scotch lord was most assiduous in his attention; and he at length succeeded in prevailing upon her to accept the offer of his protection. She lived with him several years, and bore him a daughter, who is now the wife of a baronet, and the mother of a numerous family. But the canker in Kate's mind was all this while corroding her life. She visited Paris for change of air and scene; but there her senses left her; she became raving mad, and died in a foreign land, without a friend to close her eyes.

Then there was Sally Brooke, the daughter of a beneficed clergyman, who had agreeable manners, was highly educated, and always moved in the best men's circles. She was most particularly noticed by the Prince of Wales, and, consequently, well received by those who basked in princely favour. Not a word, however, was ever breathed against her honour, and she was always looked upon as a model of unimpeachable morality. Her beauty was such that she became the object of general admiration, and her portrait was taken by the first painters of the day. The *Hebé*, by Stroeling, engraved by Heath, remains to enable the world to form some idea of the matchless charms of the original. Her figure was perfection, and the sculptor would have been delighted to obtain such a model. From whence she derived her income was always a mystery. A silly story was for a moment circulated, that a person of the name of Bouverie, commonly called the Commissioner, had succeeded in captivating her; this, however, soon died away. Whatever may have been her resources, she kept up a good establishment, and lived always like a lady, but without much show. Her house was the rendezvous of the first men in London; but to her own sex she was distant and reserved, never admitting any female to her familiarity. On one occasion Miss Brooke dined at the house of a noble marquis, where some of the fashionable young men of the day were invited to meet her. Mr. Christopher Nugent, a nephew of the celebrated Burke, was most assiduous in his attentions, and begged permission to pay her a visit. The request was granted, and a day and hour named. Some of the party present incidentally mentioned this engagement in the presence of the widow of a Mr. Harrison, a lady who had access to the best circles in consequence of her remarkable beauty, and who had some right to place Mr. Nugent on the list of her admirers. Jealous of her rival, the widow dressed herself as a boy, knocked at the door in Green Street, and was admitted into the presence of Miss Brooke, who was reclining on a sofa, while Nugent was on his knees before her. The widow, finding her lover in such a position, rushed upon him, seized a knife, and plunged it into his breast, fortunately without inflicting a mortal wound. The anger of the lady was, however, soon over, as Nugent and the lovely widow were soon after seen walking together in Hyde Park. After being the admiration of the world of fashion for several seasons, Miss Brooke, seeing wrinkles coming, retired to Baden. There she was robbed of all she possessed, and died of dropsy at Strasburg—"the world forgetting, by the world forgot."

Mademoiselle Duthie, the most renowned of her class, lived in great splendour and magnificence at Paris before the first revolution. The old Lord Egremont and the Count d'Artois were rivals for her favours. Her carriage was covered with gold, and drawn by eight cream-coloured horses. She emigrated to England, and at once became the idol of the young men of fashion. In London her principal admirers were Bob Byng, brother of the M.P. for Middlesex; Perregaux, the rich banker, who had emigrated; and Mr. Lee. The younger brother of the latter gentleman acted the part of master of the ceremonies to the fair Frenchwoman; gave her his arm in all the public promenades, and escorted her to the play and opera on all occasions. The elder Lee, her favoured *inamorata*, though dotingly fond of her, would never appear with her in public. The Duke of Queensberry, a great friend of the ladies, as of all persons of her persuasion, asked



her the meaning of her conduct with respect to the two brothers. She replied, with unblushing effrontery, "The younger Lee is *mon lit de parade*; the elder *mon lit de repos*." Mr. Lee, whose fortune was much injured by her extravagance, bade her farewell in a single Latin line, which, he told her, her friend the Duke of Queensberry, of whom he was rather jealous, would translate. It was "*Non possum te cum vivere nec sine te*." Of such mercenary beauties there were more than enough in London. Happily, Lord Palmerston appears to have had more self-respect and good sense than to be connected with such. He had warning, too, in the poverty and misery of many of his contemporaries in London life, of the ruinous character of such connections. The sums of money such men as Lord Fife would spend on a single charmer were enormous; and the impudence of the class was insufferable. Harriet Wilson actually succeeded in almost getting a promise of marriage from the Duke of Beaufort. The lady in question was one of the most notorious *traviatas* of the day; had written her memoirs, and become the scandal of the metropolis. One of her sisters had married a peer of the realm; and another a famous harpist, of very doubtful character, who had been one of the most licentious men of the day, and afterwards carried off the wife of a distinguished English composer.

Perhaps, if English wives had shown the spirit of a Duchess of Montmorency in Louis XV.'s time, more decorum would have characterised English society. The duke was married to a lady of great beauty, and ancient family; nevertheless he led a sadly improper life. He even went so far as to appear in public with the celebrated dancer, Mademoiselle Guimard, about whom all the young men of the day were raving. One night, on the duchess entering her box at the opera, with several friends, she beheld, to her horror and amazement, the duke, her husband, seated at the back of the pit box, along with the charming dancer. This was an outrage which the duchess could not endure. She sent one of the gentlemen who were with her to request her husband's immediate presence, and thus addressed the astonished culprit—"I have always been a faithful and devoted wife; but let me warn you in time. If you ever again commit such an outrage, remember this—that you cannot make Montmorencys without me; and I *can* make them without your assistance." The duke's fear and pride were roused by this very broad hint, and it is said he, from that period, reformed.

Time and space would fail to tell of the stars of the opera, that shone brightly for awhile, and then went out in utter darkness, during the Palmerston era: what triumphs were created by the singing or acting of such artists as Malibran, Grisi, Rubini and Tamburini, Pasta, Catalini; by the *tragedienne* Rachel, who was, from all accounts, off the stage a very different person to what she was on; Lablache, Catherine Hayes, Taglioni, Madame Vestris, Fanny Ellsler, Madame Schröder Duverney, Mrs. Siddons, and many more; of whom men raved, but whose charms and names call up no excitement, flush no faces now.

In 1851, died at Hampstead, in her eighty-ninth year, Miss Joanna Baillie, authoress of numerous tragedies, and one of the many distinguished literary women of the time. With some of them Lord Palmerston was on friendly terms. In the *Journal and Correspondence of Miss Berry*, there is more than one intimation of considerable intimacy with the Palmerston family. Miss Berry, writes the editor, the late Lady Theresa Lewis, has more than ordinary claims to live in the memory of those to whom she was personally known. For an unusually lengthened period of years she formed a centre, round which beauty, rank, wealth, power, fashion, learning, and science were gathered; merit and distinction of every degree were blended, by her hospitality, in social ease and familiar intercourse, encouraged by her kindness, and enlivened by her presence. She was not only the friend of literature, and of literary people, but she assiduously cultivated the acquaintance of intellectual excellence in whatever form it might appear; and, to the close of her existence, she maintained her interest in all the important affairs of life, whether social, literary, or political. Without any remarkable talent for conversation



herself, she promoted conversation amongst others, and shed an air of home-like ease over the society which met under her roof, that will long be remembered by those who had the opportunity of witnessing it, and who saw the consequent readiness and frequency with which the guests of her unpremeditated parties availed themselves of her general invitation. From the age of seventeen or eighteen, to that of nearly ninety, Miss Berry, and her sister Agnes (one year younger than herself), lived constantly in society, both at home and abroad: they had seen Marie Antoinette in all her pride and beauty; and they lived to regret the fall of Louis Philippe, for whose prudence and abilities Miss Berry had, for many years, conceived a high respect, and with whom she was personally acquainted. Born in the third year after the accession of George III., she lived to be privately presented to Queen Victoria a few months before her death. In her early youth she gained the respect of her elders, and was well known to have engaged the devoted affection of one already far in the decline of life. In her old age, the loved and admired of the fastidious Horace Walpole won the hearts of the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the friends of her youth, and will be affectionately remembered by some who still lingered in childhood at the time of her death. Miss Berry's first literary effort was in assisting, or rather executing for her father, the work of editor to the various MSS. left jointly to him and his daughters, by Lord Orford. In May, 1802, a comedy in five acts, entitled *Fashionable Friends*, by Miss Berry, was brought out at Drury Lane. It was afterwards published by Miss Berry, in the complete edition of her works, with her own explanation of the cause of its failure on the stage. Her next work was to edit the letters of Madame du Deffaud, in 1810. In 1815, Miss Berry published the original letters of Rachael, Lady Russell, with some account of her life. In 1828, Miss Berry brought out the first volume of her most considerable work, entitled *A Comparative View of Social Life in England and France, from the Restoration of Charles II. to the Present Time*. The second volume followed three years later; and both volumes were republished in the complete edition of her works, which appeared in 1844. Her last publication, dated 1840, was a defence of Lord Orford, whose character had been roughly handled by Lord Macaulay, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*.

In January, 1852, Miss Agnes Berry died; and at the end of the year, Miss Berry. She was buried by the side of her sister at Petersham. The chief mourners were Mr. Crauford, the Hon. Frederick Byng, Dr. Milman, Dean of St. Paul's; and, amongst the numerous friends who voluntarily paid this last tribute of respect, were Sir H. Ferguson Davie, the Earl of Carlisle, Mr. Monckton Milnes, Mr. Charles Greville, Mr. John Abel Smith, &c., &c. The day after the funeral, a poem appeared in the *Times* on the subject, from the pen of Mr. M. Milnes, now Lord Houghton. We give the first and second verses:—

“Two friends within one grave we place,  
 United in our tears;  
 Sisters scarce parted for the space  
 Of more than eighty years:  
 And she whose bier is borne to-day—  
 The one the last to go—  
 Bears with her thoughts that force their way  
 Above the moment's woe.

“Thoughts of the varied human life  
 Spread o'er that field of time;  
 The toil, the passion, and the strife,  
 The virtue and the crime:  
 Yet, 'mid this long tumultuous scene,  
 The image on our mind  
 Of these dear women rests serene,  
 In happy bounds confined.”

Of Mrs. Hemans, and of unhappy Letitia Landon, and other lady writers, we

can give but the names. Maria Edgeworth died in 1848, aged eighty-three; Mary Wollstonecroft Shelly in 1851, aged fifty-three; Mrs. Marcet, famed for her educational and scientific works, lived to be eighty-nine; Mrs. Gore, the charming painter of fashionable life and manners, died in 1861; Mrs. Jameson, the accomplished critic, in 1859; Lady Sydney Morgan in 1858; Mrs. Trollope, the novelist and American caricaturist, lived to the age of eighty-four, and departed this life in 1862; Lucy Aikin, a writer of history, of no mean reputation in her day, lived to be eighty-three, and died in 1863.

One of the brightest songsters of the later period of Lord Palmerston's life was Elizabeth Barrett Browning. She was a born poet. Regard being had merely to the artistic qualities of her works, it would be difficult to name any one of her sex who has equalled, or even approached her. Never did a bosom beat with nobler instincts towards humanity and freedom than her's. In the *Literary Recollections of Miss Mitford*—herself a genial and pleasing writer—we read—“My first acquaintance with Elizabeth Barrett commenced fifteen years ago; and she was then certainly one of the most interesting persons I had ever seen. Of a slight, delicate figure, with a shower of dark curls falling on either side of a most expressive face; large, tender eyes, fringed with dark lashes; a smile like a sunbeam, and such a look of youthfulness, that I had some difficulty in persuading a friend, in whose carriage we went to Chiswick, that the translatress of the *Prometheus of Æschylus*, the author of the *Essay on Mind*, was, in technical language, ‘out.’ During my stay in town we met frequently; and after my return to the country, we corresponded very regularly; her letters being just what letters ought to be—her own talk put upon paper. The next year was a painful one to herself and all who loved her; she broke a blood-vessel in the lungs. If there had been consumption in the family, that disease would have supervened; but, happily, she escaped this fatal English malady. The vessel, however, refused to heal; and after attending her for a year at her father's house in Wimpole Street, Dr. Chambers, on the approach of winter, ordered her to a milder climate. Her eldest brother—a brother in heart and talent worthy of such a sister—together with other affectionate relatives, accompanied her to Torquay; and there occurred that fatal event which saddened her bloom of youth, and gave a deeper hue of thought and feeling, especially devotional feeling, to her poetry. Nearly a year had passed, and the invalid, still attended by her companions, had derived much benefit from the mild sea-breezes of Devonshire. One fine summer morning, her favourite brother, together with two other fine young men, his friends, embarked on board a small sailing vessel for a trip of a few hours. Excellent sailors all, and familiar with the coast, they sent back the boatman, and undertook themselves the management of their little craft. Danger was not dreamt of by any one: indeed, after the catastrophe no one could divine the cause; but in a few minutes after their embarkation, and in sight of their very windows, and just as they were crossing the bar, the boat went down, and all who were in her perished. Even the bodies were never found. This tragedy nearly killed Miss Barrett; she was utterly prostrated by the horror and grief, and a natural, but most unjust feeling, that she had been in some sort the cause of this great misery. It was not until the following year that she could be removed in an invalid carriage, and, by journeys of twenty miles a day, to her afflicted family and her London home. On her return began the life which she continued for so many years, confined to one large and commodious, but darkened chamber, to which only her own family and a few devoted friends were admitted—reading, meanwhile, almost every book worth reading, in almost every language; studying, with ever-fresh delight, the great classic authors in the original, and giving herself heart and soul to that poetry of which she seemed born to be the priestess.” We learn from the source whence the above remarks are derived, that Miss Barrett's vocation displayed itself very early in life; that she wrote largely at ten years old, and well at fifteen. Her first important essay in authorship was



a translation of the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, published anonymously in 1833: her own maturer judgment pronounced this attempt a failure, and it was therefore replaced in the collected edition of her works by an entirely new version. Five years later appeared *The Seraphim*, a poem, holding, as it were, an intermediate position between an ancient Greek tragedy and a Christian mystery; the idea of which had suggested itself during the progress of her labours on the *Prometheus Bound*. With it were associated some miscellaneous poems, a portion of which had already appeared in the pages of periodicals, where they had won (in spite of some obscurity of manner and expression) high appreciation for their poetic beauty and earnest tone of feeling. Though chiefly known to the multitude by these productions, Miss Barrett also wrote many admirable and erudite prose articles on the Greek Christian poets and other subjects, which were considered to afford evidence of unusually keen insight and extended intellectual attainments. After a long continuance of that secluded life which has been referred to in the words of her intimate friend, a gradual improvement took place in her state of health; and the beauties and pleasures of the external world, from which she had been debarred for years, once more became accessible to her. Several years ago she became the wife of Robert Browning, the poet; and, immediately after her marriage, accompanied him to Pisa. They subsequently removed to Florence, which continued to be their permanent home (and where she died); although occasional visits to England afforded opportunity to Mrs. Browning's friends of rejoicing with her in the possession of a lovely boy, and a renewed measure of health and strength. The publication, in 1850, of her collected poems, in two volumes, gave a great impetus to her reputation, and obtained very general acknowledgment of her title to rank, in many points of view, as the first female poet of the age. A small number of unpublished poems appeared in this edition; and among them was *Lady Geraldine's Courtship*, which has been cited as one of her happiest inspirations. An inspiration it might indeed be called, inasmuch as it was written in twelve hours, having been required, at the last moment, to complete the uniformity of her volumes; and composed in haste to save the packet which was to convey the proof-sheets to America. In 1851, appeared *Casa Guidi Windows*, a poem, the theme of which was the repeated struggle for liberty which she had opportunities of witnessing from the windows of the Casa Guidi, her own Florentine residence. Although critics have not failed to do full justice to the generous impulse, fine imagination, and social and political wisdom of this production, the fantastic and rugged forms in which the ideas are frequently clothed, would be likely to render it only partially acceptable. It is, probably, by such poems as the *Poet's Vow*, *Catharina to Camoens*, *Bertha in the Lane*, *Cowper's Grave*, and a host of others which throng upon the memory, that Mrs. Browning will touch the hearts of her readers most closely; and it will be from them, therefore, that she will derive her most enduring renown. In 1856, Mrs. Browning published *Aurora Leigh*.

Since *Aurora Leigh*, the only published work of Mrs. Browning's, we believe, is a small volume, entitled *Poems before Congress*. One or two little pieces of her's have occasionally adorned the pages of the *Cornhill Magazine*. In her later poems, curious and loving students of her verse fancied they could detect some unconscious reflection—very pleasant to see—of her gifted husband's thought and style. It is less doubtful that her love of Italy, and her desire for its freedom and independence, were intensified by his well-known passionate strength of sympathy for that country and that cause. It takes away something from the pain which those who love and honour her memory must feel at her loss, to remember that she lived to witness the regeneration, and breathed her last on the enfranchised soil, of the nation whose redemption had been one of the strongest aspirations of her noble heart.

What poets and schools of the poets did Lord Palmerston outlive! In 1800,

the sensitive, melancholy, yet humorous and pathetic William Cowper fell asleep, and was buried in an obscure provincial town. In 1784, all that was mortal of Robert Burns ceased to exist. Shelley and Keats just sparkled, and then vanished from the horizon, while Lord Palmerston was in the War Office. To Byron, to Coleridge, to Wordsworth, to Southey, and Tom Moore, a longer lease of life was given. Thomas Campbell died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in 1844; while Samuel Rogers, Esq., poet and banker, seemed immortal. Let us pause on a few names. Perhaps never did a man do so much good with a small poem as did Tom Hood with his "Song of the Shirt." The story of his life is soon told. He was born in the Poultry, London, where his father was a publisher and bookseller, in 1799. Of his education but little is known. He was articled young to his uncle, who was an engraver, and, in his employment, learned much of that facility of drawing which afterwards distinguished him. He was compelled to end his engagement, and to proceed to Scotland, where he remained two years, gathering strength, and where he made his first essay in authorship in the columns of a Dundee newspaper. Returning to town, and, apparently, resuming his work as an engraver, he got a more congenial appointment, in 1821, as sub-editor of the *London Magazine*. Hood was thus at once launched upon the literary world of London, and gradually acquired a public reputation. In 1824, he married a lady admirably suited for him, and who was at once his idol and his butt. Early in 1835, he removed with his family to Coblenz; and he remained abroad five years, working hard all the time at *Comic Annuals*, and various other well-known publications, such as *Up the Rhine*. From the period of his going abroad is dated the commencement of his illness, against which he bravely struggled till 1845, when the foe triumphed, and ended his useful and laborious career. It was at this closing period of his life that he wrote the "Song of the Shirt," and the "Bridge of Sighs." In those poems he astonished all by the new vein which he opened up; and in them he did what he wished to do—helped to bridge over the gulf between Dives and Lazarus, between rich and poor. As a punster, Hood was unrivalled. "Three such men," said a writer in the *Times*, "in succession, as Theodore Hook, Thomas Hood, and Douglas Jerrold, of whom, it is almost needless to add, that our hero was comparatively the greatest, have exerted such an influence on London society by the brilliancy of their power, that punning has obtained an eminence in quarters where, at one time, it would have been deemed the height of vulgarity to venture on any species of word-play." The same writer adds—"It will be found that nearly all the most successful puns depend on this fact—the jumble of Saxon, Danish, Celtic, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew roots in the English language, so that the same syllable has different meanings, according as it has been derived from Saxon or from French, from Danish or from Hebrew." Hood was, no doubt, wonderfully successful in his puns, even without overstepping the limits of pure Saxon roots: as thus, in referring to the death of Sally Brown's sweetheart:—

"His death, which happened in his berth,  
At forty odd befel:  
They went and told the sexton, and  
The sexton tolled the bell."

Or, again, with regard to Ben Battle:—

"Ben Battle was a soldier bold,  
And used to war's alarms;  
But a cannon-ball took off his legs,  
So he laid down his arms!"

"Now, as they bore him off the field,  
Says he, 'Let others shoot,  
For here I leave my second leg,  
And the Forty-second Foot.'"

But, in general, the most successful puns are due to the variety of elements in



the English language. The wit of Jerrold's comparison between *puppy-ism* and *dog-matism*, or of Hood's contrast between *piety* and *mag-piety*, depends upon this law. Sir Charles Napier's celebrated despatch, after one of his great battles, is another good instance:—"Peccavi"—*I have Scinde*: and all the more clever from his adopting a third language to be the envelope, mask, and domino of the pun. Sometimes, when the pun is not due to a comparison of two different languages, it is obtained by a comparison of dialectical varieties, and especially by the recognition of slang. As, for example:—

"The death of kings is easily explained;  
And thus upon a tomb it might be chiselled:—  
'As long as George the Fourth could rain, he rained,  
And then he mizzled.'"

Hood punned, and wrote comic verses, because he was compelled to—because the public preferred rather to laugh than to weep: nevertheless, his serious verse is deeply touching; and it was as perfect and complete in his earlier as well as his later years. As an illustration, we add a little poem on his sister's death.

"We watched her breathing thro' the night,  
Her breathing soft and low,  
As in her breast the wave of life  
Kept heaving to and fro.

"So silently we seemed to speak,  
So slowly moved about,  
As we had lent her half our powers  
To eke her living out.

"Our very hopes belied our fears,  
Our fears our hopes belied,  
We thought her dying when she slept,  
And sleeping when she died.

"For when the morn came dim and sad,  
And chill with early showers,  
Her quiet eyelids closed—she had  
Another morn than ours."

Of another poet and scholar, and man of the world, more famed since his death than before, we would speak a little. Winthrop Mackworth Praed (for it is to him that we allude) was the third and youngest son of William Mackworth Praed, sergeant-at-law, and for many years chairman of the Audit Board. He was born in John Street, Bedford Row. As a child, he was tender and delicate. He delighted in reading of a more profitable kind than is common with young people: *Plutarch's Lives* being one of his chief favourites. Shakespeare he would read aloud to his sisters. Young as he was, he already took much pleasure in chess, of which he continued fond during the whole of his life, and soon became a very good player. He also amused himself with the composition of dramas, too unripe, as may well be supposed, for publication; but in which he already displayed that talent for drollery which he afterwards exhibited in so refined and elegant a form. At Eton, to which he was sent before he had completed his twelfth year, his intellectual superiority was fully recognised, and received the fullest and most appropriate encouragement. Here he took a principal part in carrying on *The Etonian*. It was Praed's genius that impressed upon it its distinctive character, and that chiefly contributed to obtain for it the reputation which it still retained above all other juvenile periodicals. To Cambridge Praed went with a reputation which no Etonian had carried thither since the days of Canning. It was, however, soon apparent that neither his time nor talents would be devoted exclusively, or even mainly, to the pursuit of university distinction. His disposition was eminently social—his company gladly welcomed wherever he pleased to bestow it, whether by his immediate contemporaries, or by men of brighter

standing. His scholarship was elegant, refined, and tasteful. Many were his university successes. At the Union Debating Society, Praed soon gained high rank. "It was here that Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay first became known as an orator, many of his speeches in this mimic arena being little inferior, in rhetorical skill or in force of argument, to his most splendid achievements in parliament. Scarcely less remarkable, in a different style, was the clear and commanding eloquence of Mr. Charles Austin, then equipping himself for the very high position which he afterwards obtained as an advocate and parliamentary lawyer. After these and a large number of promising speakers, destined to obtain celebrity either at the bar or in the senate, there was no third name that could be put in competition with that of Praed." When Knight's *Quarterly Magazine* was established Praed became one of its principal contributors. In 1825, we find him again at Eton, as private tutor to Lord Ernest Bruce, a younger son of the Marquis of Aylesbury. During this period he was a constant contributor to the magazines and annuals of the day. In 1829, he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. He went the Norfolk circuit, and was rapidly rising in reputation and practice; but statesmanship had been his aim all through life, and the time had come when that aim was to be realised. He was first returned to parliament for St. Germain's, in 1830, and again for the same place at the general election of 1831. In 1832, he contested unsuccessfully the borough of St. Ives; but in 1834, he was returned, with Mr. T. Baring, for Yarmouth. The exertions which he used to secure his seat overtasked the powers of his constitution; and, it is believed, first developed—if they did not lay—the foundation of that fatal disease, to which a few years afterwards he fell a victim. His success in the House of Commons was sufficient to induce Sir Robert Peel to offer him the office of Secretary to the Board of Control, which offer he accepted. In 1837, Praed retired from Yarmouth, and became M.P. for Aylesbury, which post he held till the day of his death. During the latter years of his life he held the office of Deputy High Steward of the University of Cambridge, and looked forward, at some future time, to representing in parliament the university itself. This, however, was not to be. In 1838, Mr. Praed was engaged, with Mr. T. D. Acland, Mr. Matheson, Mr. H. W. Coleridge, and other friends in and out of parliament, in preparing a scheme of education for the children of the labouring classes, to be carried out under the auspices of the National Society. In 1839 he died, and was buried at Kensal Green. He left two daughters, under whose authority, a few years after, their father's poems were given to the public; and by means of them the name and fame of Praed will live for many years.

And now what must the verdict be as to Praed's claim to immortality? We have two volumes of verse, melodious, refined, tender, sparkling, and full of pathos and fun. He is not of the school of to-day: Praed wrote before Tennyson. He wrote when the reaction against Byronism had set in, and when society required in its poet that he should be a gentleman, and full of overflowing of refinement and wit. His were the days of annuals and *Books of Beauty*. People then had not come to believe in missions, or woman's destiny, or in her equality with man. She was then to be wooed and won in the old knightly style, as something almost too bright or good for human nature's daily food. She had not then made the frightful mistake of being jolly and fast, and of aping the tone, in morals and fashions, of the *Anonymas* of her time. And of such a society Praed was the poet-laureate. He was more. He had a humour which rivalled that of Hood, or of the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*. We take it that Wordsworth was pre-eminently the poet of his time; yet Praed was no imitator of Wordsworth. Praed's poems are worth reprinting, and are really poems, not themes in verse; and his charades and enigmas are quite an art in themselves. "The character," writes a friend, "of Praed's Latin and Greek verse is peculiar. It is the exact translation, for the most part, of the same style and diction which he wielded with hardly greater ease in his native language. The same sparkling antitheses, the same minute elaboration of fancy, whether employed in depicting natural or



mental objects, and the same ever-present under-current of melancholy, are found in both. Of a certain kind of Greek, adapted to the curious production called at Cambridge a Sapphic Ode, and of a certain degree of Latin scholarship competent to express all the ideas necessary to his verse, but not to sound the depth or expand the capacities of the language, he was master. His epigrams are, perhaps, the most scholarlike of his productions."

But we must not only chronicle ladies and poets. A few further notices will give the reader a better idea of the literature, and learning, and art of Lord Palmerston's time. In the course of our work we have referred to most of the distinguished men of his day; but still there are other names yet to be recorded. Horace Twiss, author of the *Life of Lord Eldon*, died in 1849; as also did Horace Smith, the author of *Rejected Addresses*; and Etty, the artist. Sir Martin Archer Shee, President of the Royal Academy, died in 1850. The dissenting religious world lost a great man in 1851—Dr. Pye Smith, the principal of Homerton College, and author of a very learned work, called *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*. Dr. Lingard, the great Roman Catholic historian, died at about the age of eighty-two, in the same year. Robert Dale Owen, the socialist, died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1858. As we have recorded our opinion of him already, it is only fair that we add that of his admirers. Mr. Sargent, in his *Robert Owen, and his Philosophy*, writes—"Those, however, who think of the old man with a contemptuous pity, have need to be reminded how important was the position he once occupied, and how great was the good he effected. As a young man, he was the munificent supporter of Lancaster and of Bell in their early efforts; and the liberal friend of Fulton, in his various mechanical projects. It was Owen's publications which recommended to the Prussian government its scheme of national education, and a system of pauper management to the Dutch. The establishment of infant schools is his work, and followed inevitably from his studious care to place the people in circumstances favourable to their development. By his persevering efforts, first at Manchester, and then at New Lanark, he showed, in practice, that much might be done to improve the condition and the character of factory workers; and the various plans since carried out are traceable to him as their originator. The first Sir Robert Peel had the honour of being the prime mover, in parliament, of the measures for restraining, by law, the abuses of the factory system; but it was at the instigation of Owen that the movement of 1819 commenced."

In 1859, died Frank Stone, the artist; and De Quincy, the author of *Confessions of an Opium Eater*. Sir Charles Barry, the architect; Albert Smith, whose ascent of Mont Blanc was a great source of profit to the narrator, and amusement to the hearer; Sir Charles Ross, the far-famed miniature painter; G. P. R. James, the novelist; and Dr. Croly, poet and divine, died in 1860. Sir Peter Fairbairn died in 1861; as did Richard Oastler, who had fought bitterly against political economists for the rights of labour, in Yorkshire factories more especially. Henry Thomas Buckle, the author of the *History of Civilisation*, died in 1862, at the age of forty, and left his great work, to the grief of many, but half done. The great surgeon, Sir Benjamin Brodie, also died that year. Nor must we omit the names of Henry Hallam, the great historian; of Turner, the artist, rightly buried in St. Paul's Cathedral; or of Leigh Hunt, who was sent to gaol for calling George the Fourth an "Adonis of fifty;" nor Mulready, the artist. In 1864, died Dyce, the historical painter; T. P. Cooke, the popular hero of *Black-eyed Susan*; Lance, whose fruit and flowers, as displayed in the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy, were perfection; and John Leech, to whose delightful cartoons *Punch* owes its immortality. Never before had the caricaturist been so graceful, so true to nature, or displayed such thorough acquaintance with all that was best and manliest in English life. Sir Joseph Paxton, for whom we are indebted for improved landscape gardening, and crystal palaces for all sorts and conditions of men, died in 1865. In the same year, also, died Cardinal Wiseman—a man who



requires more than a passing line. Cardinal Wiseman was the son of the late Mr. J. Wiseman, merchant, of Waterford and of Seville, in which latter city the late cardinal was born on the 2nd of August, 1802. When little more than five years old, young Nicholas Wiseman was sent to England, and placed at a boarding-school at Waterford. In 1810 he was transferred thence to the Roman Catholic College of St. Cuthbert, at Ushaw, near Durham, where he remained until 1818. In that year he obtained leave to quit Ushaw for Rome, where he became one of the first members of the English College, then recently founded at Rome. In the next year he had the honour of preaching before the then Pope Pius VII., and was created a Doctor of Divinity in 1824, shortly before the completion of his twenty-second year. In the following spring he received holy orders, and in 1827 was nominated Professor of Oriental Languages in the Roman University, being at that time vice-rector of the English College, to the rectorship of which he was promoted in the year 1829. Dr. Wiseman returned to England in 1835; and in the Lent of the following year, he delivered, at St. Mary's, Moorfields, a course of lectures, in which he vindicated, at considerable length, the principal doctrines and practices of the Roman Catholic church, and with such success, that the Roman Catholics of the metropolis presented him with a gold medal, commemorative of their gratitude and of their high regard for his talents and acquirements. In 1840, the late Pope Gregory XVI. increased the number of his vicars-apostolic in England from four to eight; and Dr. Wiseman was appointed coadjutor to the late Bishop Walsh, then vicar-apostolic of the midland district, being at the same time elevated to the presidency of St. Mary's College, Oscott. In 1848, on the death of Bishop Griffiths, Dr. Wiseman became pro-vicar-apostolic of the London district, and subsequently was again coadjutor to Dr. Walsh, then moved to London. On his death, in 1849, Bishop Wiseman succeeded as vicar-apostolic. The next stage in Dr. Wiseman's life is that which, as it has been more controverted than any other, so also is it that by which his name will be longest remembered. In August, 1850, Bishop Wiseman was summoned to Rome, to the "threshold of the apostles," by his holiness Pope Pius IX., who, on the 29th of the following September, issued his celebrated "Apostolical Letter," re-establishing the Roman Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales, at the same time issuing a "brief," elevating Dr. Wiseman to the archbishopric of Westminster. In a private consistory held the following day, the new "archbishop" was raised by the sovereign pontiff to the dignity of a cardinal priest, the ancient church of St. Pudentia, at Rome, in conformity with the ecclesiastical custom, being selected by him as his title. His eminence was the seventh Englishman who has been elevated to the hat of a cardinal since the Reformation, his predecessors in this respect having been Cardinal Pole, Cardinal Allen, Cardinal Howard, Cardinal York, Cardinal Weld, and Cardinal Acton. The name of Cardinal Wiseman was well known in that portion of the literary world which interests itself in controversy, as one of the most frequent and able contributors to the *Dublin Review*, of which he was for some years the joint editor. To the London world, and to the public at large, Cardinal Wiseman's name was rendered most familiar by his frequent appearance upon the platform as a public lecturer upon a wide range of subjects connected with education, history, art, and science; and in this capacity his eminence always found an attentive and eager audience, even among those who were most conscientiously opposed to his spiritual claims and pretensions, and who most thoroughly ignored him as "Archbishop of Westminster." The cardinal had been suffering for about twelve years from diabetes. In 1860, whilst in Rome, he suffered severely from carbuncle. His last illness was erysipelas of the head and face. It was followed by a carbuncle on the scalp. To the great grief of his friends, he gradually sank, exhausted by this accumulation of maladies.

Suddenly, in the fulness of his fame, England's greatest novelist, or keenest social satirist, at any rate—William Makepiece Thackeray—was borne away by death. On December 24th, 1863, the news circulated through London that the



author of *Vanity Fair* was dead. It was only two days before that he had been seen at his club, radiant and buoyant with glee. His medical attendants attributed his death to effusion on the brain. It appeared that he had a very large brain, weighing enormously. For many years his large frame and silvered head had been conspicuous in society. The prominent incidents of a literary man's life are not numerous; and there have been published so many memoirs of Mr. Thackeray, in biographical dictionaries and other works, that we need not go much into detail in recording dates. He belonged to a Yorkshire family, and was descended from that Dr. Thackeray who was for some time head-master at Harrow, and who introduced there the Eton system. His father was in the civil service of the East India Company; and he was born at Calcutta in 1811. He was educated at the Charterhouse, which he loved to describe in his novels. Then he went to Cambridge; but he left the university without taking a degree, and went to the continent with a view of studying art. He might in those days be seen at Rome, at Weimar, and at Paris, enjoying every kind of society, chiefly that of the artists. He has described this sort of life abundantly in his tales. It was some years after this that he turned his attention to literature. He had begun life with what might be considered a good fortune; but he lost his money, and had to work. "He began," says the *Times*' critic, "as a writer in *Fraser's Magazine*, in the days when Maginn was its ruling spirit; and, under the name of Michael Angelo Titmarsh, wrote scores of essays, reviews, tales, sketches, poems of very unequal merit, which brought him little renown, and not much emolument. He contributed to other periodicals, wrote various books of travel, and worked for the publishers—any that came to him—as a barrister takes his brief from any respectable attorney. The mass of work which he got through in this way was very great; but much of it is interesting only as the early practice of one who, before long, rose to be a master of English. On the whole, as we look back upon these writings, we do not think that if his fame at that time was unequal to his merits, the public were much to blame. The very high opinion which his friends entertained of him must have been due more to personal intercourse than to his published works. It was not until 1846 that Mr. Thackeray fairly showed to the world what was in him. Then began to be published, in monthly numbers, the story of *Vanity Fair*. It took London by surprise—the picture was so true, the satire was so trenchant, the style was so finished. It is difficult to say which of these three works is the best—*Vanity Fair*, *Henry Esmond*, or *The Newcomes*. Men of letters may give their preference to the second of these, which is, indeed, the most finished of all his works. But there is a vigour in the first-mentioned, and a matured beauty in the last, which, to the throng of readers, will be more attractive. At first reading, *Vanity Fair* has given to many an impression that the author is too cynical. There was no man less ill-natured than Mr. Thackeray; and, if anybody doubts this, we refer him to *The Newcomes*, and ask whether that book could be written by any but a most kind-hearted man? We believe that one of the greatest miseries which Mr. Thackeray had to endure, grew out of the sense that he, one of the kindest of men, was regarded as an ill-natured cynic. He produced many works besides those which we have mentioned; and among them, perhaps, *Pendennis* ought to be named as standing on a nearly equal level. Over and above this, some of his minor works are perfect in their way. There is a little tale of his—*Barry Lyndon*—which the more ardent lovers of Thackeray's writing regard as his masterpiece. We have mentioned enough, however, to justify the opinion that, except Mr. Dickens, no modern English novelist ranks higher than William Makepeace Thackeray. As studies of human nature, and as specimens of pure idiomatic English, perhaps nothing better has been written than that which we have under Thackeray's name. There is a rich humour, too, in his writing which is very amusing. For humour and play of fancy what can be better than his poems? They are among the cleverest things in the language."

In the House of Commons, in addition to those we have already mentioned,



what hosts of his contemporaries had Lord Palmerston outlived. In 1848 died Charles Buller, a promising statesman and political writer. He had long outlived his *quondam* friend, and, subsequently, political opponent, Wilson Croker—the Mr. Rigby of *Coningsby*. Lord Palmerston had seen the Radical M.P.'s—Cobbett; Sharman Crawford; Wakley, of the *Lancet*; Tom Duncombe, the gay and agreeable sinner, so dear to Finsbury; Lord Dudley Stuart, the friend of the Poles—all gathered to their fathers. About the same time there passed away a man well known in his day—Daniel Whittle Harvey, the fervent Radical M.P. and newspaper proprietor of a time when political life was something real, something earnest; but who, latterly, was known as a terror to evil-doers, and especially cabmen, in the city. In the opinion of the latter, the “V. R.” on the badge was supposed to stand for Vittle 'Arvey, as the comic literature of that day still testifies. To the last Mr. Harvey was a wonderfully active man; and only a few days previous to his death, he ran up-stairs as if he were a mere lad. As an instance of what talent and perseverance may do, he deserves remembering. While a boy, he used to write his name on his desk, “Daniel Whittle Harvey, M.P. for Colchester;” and M.P. for Colchester he became. In 1837, he was considered, by Mr. James Grant, as one of the most gifted men in parliament. Mr. Grant describes him as “one of the speakers in the House whom no one would ever tire of hearing. His ideas always strike you as excellent, and his illustrations are usually of the most felicitous kind. You are often surprised, as well as pleased, by the brilliant things he says. His language is elegant to a fault. At refined sarcasm,” Mr. Grant adds, “he has few equals. No man can cut an opponent more delicately, and at the same time so deeply. Some of his efforts in this way have been the happiest that ever met my notice, either in speeches I have heard delivered, or in the course of my reading.” Such is fame. Of the late Daniel Whittle Harvey as an M.P., and elegant, eloquent, and sarcastic speaker, the present generation knows nought. In life how soon one is pushed off the stage. Of other members who, like Harvey, had risen from the ranks, let us note W. J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham; Herbert Ingram, who, as a boy, had blacked the shoes of one of his constituents; Mr. Brotherton (famed for his annual motion to the effect that the House do adjourn at twelve o'clock), who had been a poor factory lad; William Schaw Lindsay, who had been a cabin-boy, and undergone more suffering than usually falls to the lot of such. Old Colonel Sibthorp, whose invectives against foreigners, and against Whigs and Tories, always created roars of laughter, died in 1861. Mr. Muntz, the bearded Birmingham M.P.; Mr. Attwood, the leader of the unionists during the reform agitation era; Mr. George Byng, so long the father of the House, must also be enumerated here. The latter gentleman not only had the honour of being considered as the father of the House, but he had also the additional fame of having been, for the long period of half a century, not only a representative of the people, but the representative of the same constituency—a circumstance, we believe, unparalleled in the history of the House of Commons.

In April, 1865, all England was startled by hearing of the death of Richard Cobden. It was known that he was ill; but, it was hoped, not seriously so. For four years Mr. Cobden had suffered from asthma, and, under the advice of his physicians, abstained as much as possible from any active duty during winter. A few months before his death he transgressed this rule so far as to address his constituents at Rochdale, in one of those great speeches which have done so much to educate the nation, and to put to flight the pernicious errors in political science to which the ruling class of this country has clung with so much pertinacity. But the consequence of his speaking at Rochdale was to warn him once again that he could not be too careful during an English winter. Accordingly, in reply to a letter from Mr. Bright, he invited that statesman to meet him at Midhurst, as he did not contemplate resuming his seat in parliament till a more advanced period of the session. In the course of their conversation, he recalled the fact that his only son was buried in Lavington churchyard, and that there, too, he would be buried.



The reference to his death was not, indeed, caused by any presentiment of his own approaching decease, for he was then deeply engrossed with public affairs; and so engrossed, that as the time for the Canada debate drew nigh, he was seized with an uncontrollable desire to unfold his views upon the whole question in parliament. On the 21st of March he accordingly came up to London on one of those bitter days when even men of robust strength felt the necessity of caution. Immediately on arriving at his residence in Suffolk Street he was seized with an attack of asthma, which was so far relieved on Wednesday that he was able to see some of his friends. On Wednesday, between five and six in the afternoon, the attack returned with great severity. Dr. Roberts, of Grosvenor Street, was consulted; and we need not say that every attention was bestowed by that gentleman to save for the country a life so precious. Indeed, for some days it was hoped Mr. Cobden would recover from the attack. On Friday the symptoms were not favourable, but on Saturday morning he was thought to be a little better. Throughout Saturday the disease continued; it had ripened into that form of the distemper known as congestive asthma, followed by an attack of bronchitis. In the course of Saturday he made his will, appointing Mr. Thomasson, of Bolton, Mr. Thomasson, jun., and Mrs. Cobden, his executors. He also subscribed a letter to Mr. Bazley, M.P., Mr. Henry Ashworth, of Bolton, and Mr. John Slagg, of Manchester, who hold some funds in trust for Mr. Cobden's children. He rallied about midnight, and conversed a little. Mr. Bright was then in the house; Mr. Moffat, M.P.; Mr. Fisher, of Midhurst; and Mr. Fisher, jun., in addition to Mrs. Cobden and her second daughter. But the insidious disease was too busy with its fatal mission to permit of longer hope. Gradually, without suffering, and with the same tranquillity of mind as had distinguished him throughout life, the great reformer passed away. He died at a quarter past eleven on Sunday morning, being only in his sixty-first year.

Mr. Cobden evidently regarded the emancipation of the industry of the people as the great work of his life. Although he took part in many movements for various kinds of reform, he never assumed to place himself in the same relation to any great public question as that in which he had stood to free trade. His was a practical nature. He had no idea of playing with politics; and, for the class of whom Lord Palmerston was the type—a class, however, without which, under present circumstances, government is an impossibility—he had little sympathy. “These peculiarities,” says a writer in the *Daily News*, “these infirmities, as some would call them, unfitted him for many positions which he only wanted a certain elasticity to fill with distinction. His simplicity, and the dislike with which he could not but look on political trifling, threw him out of *rapprochement* with a large class of politicians, who mistook for weakness of temper an impatience which was entirely moral. The service which he rendered to the country as the negotiator of the French treaty is too recent to be forgotten, or the indifference to honour which he showed when offered some mark of distinction at its conclusion. The benefits of the great commercial reforms, which it had been his privilege to bring about, increase year by year; and in them he possesses the best of titles to his country's lasting remembrance.”

A writer in the *Star*, the organ of his party, asked—“Why did this eminent public servant never serve his sovereign and his country in any of the first offices of state? Why was it that he who has done more to make England greater, and her people more contented and prosperous, than all the warriors whose tombs encumber Westminster Abbey, went down to his grave unennobled by the crown, not honourable by any patent of heraldry, not distinguished from the common crowd by any title of precedence or acknowledgment of his pre-eminent worth? The answer, we are afraid, must be that Richard Cobden despised those vulgar rewards which the ordinary politician regards as the appropriate termination of his career; and that, during his time, there has been no ministry in England which had his unreserved confidence and approval. It has not been because the sove-



reign sought to withhold from him some mark of her esteem ; not because Premiers have not sought the honour of his assistance at the Board of the Privy Council ; and not because the ruling classes would not gladly have counted Richard Cobden as one of their own order. It is true there was a time when it was said representatives for agricultural constituencies, who felt themselves obliged to vote with Sir Robert Peel, gravely represented that they had to follow the Premier in his new career, lest the calamity should happen of Mr. Cobden being made a minister, and called upon by his sovereign to inaugurate the new *régime* which he had been instrumental in bringing about. Some have also said, that the true reason for the conversion of the Duke of Wellington to a free-trade policy, was the statement made to him by Sir Robert Peel, that, unless they continued in office, the queen would have no resource but to send for Mr. Cobden. If that contemptible feeling ever did exist to any great extent, it was not lasting ; for it was at this very time, after Sir Robert Peel was defeated on his Irish policy, and the Whigs had succeeded to office, that the first direct approach was made with a view of inducing Mr. Cobden to join the cabinet. He had resolved to spend some months in foreign travel ; and on the fact becoming generally known, Lord John Russell wrote to him to express his regret, as he had hoped that he might be induced to join the cabinet which was then being formed. At this time, also, the *Times*, believing, no doubt, that a man who had accomplished so much, and who was publicly hailed in parliament by the Premier of England as one who, by his unadorned eloquence, had revolutionised the policy of his country, was endeavouring, by all manner of fulsome eulogy, to detach Mr. Cobden from his co-workers in the great cause. The praise of that organ, we need not say, was valued by the illustrious statesman at the same worth as the virulent abuse with which it had more consistently followed his career. If the great free-trader, however, had been less sternly patriotic—had his principles been more flexible, and his ambition rather for his own personal success than the public good—there can be little doubt that he might, as he stated to his Rochdale constituents, have been Prime Minister of England. A more definite proposal was made to him in 1859. When the ministry of the day came into power on the strength of their professions of reform, and sustained by the united Liberal party on the basis of the union publicly adopted at Willis's Rooms, Mr. Cobden was in America. The presidency of the Board of Trade was reserved for his acceptance ; and on his return he waited, by appointment, on Lord Palmerston. There never was any hesitation in his own mind as to the course he should adopt ; and he did not disguise from his more intimate friends that his only possible answer must be a refusal. Nothing transpired publicly of the nature of the interview—memorable in many respects—except that the post reserved for him had been courteously declined. We may now state, however, that the conversation which took place was as frank and direct, on the part of Mr. Cobden, as his speeches in the House of Commons. He told Lord Palmerston, in answer to remonstrances against his decision to decline the honour, that he had always regarded his lordship as one of the most dangerous ministers England could possibly have, and that his views had not undergone the slightest change. He felt that it would be doing violence to his own sense of duty, and injuring his own character for consistency in the eyes of his countrymen, to profess to act with a minister to whom he had all along been opposed on public grounds. This frank avowal of opinion did not prevent the minister making the offer of a baronetcy, and a seat in the Privy Council, to Mr. Cobden, after the successful negotiation of the French treaty. This offer Mr. Cobden, of course, declined. The same uncompromising adherence to his views was displayed still more recently. In January, 1865, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Cobden, wishing him to accept the chairmanship of the Board of Audit, with a salary of £2,000 per annum. The answer of the true economist was, that he must decline ; and, in declining, express the feeling that, if he had been induced to accept, he would have had, in the performance of his duties, a constant sense of disgust at the scandalous



and unnecessary expenditure of the government. Thus it is that Richard Cobden's name was, to the end, as unadorned as his eloquence; that his integrity was proof against the blandishments of honour; and that place had for him no temptation, when the acceptance of place meant the abandonment of his principles."

We have referred to Lord Palmerston's speech when the news of Mr. Cobden's death reached the House of Commons; and now give the generous utterances of the leader of the Conservatives on the same occasion.

Mr. Disraeli said—"Sir, having been a member of this House when Mr. Cobden first took his seat in it, and having, indeed, remained in this House during the whole time of his somewhat lengthened parliamentary career, I cannot reconcile myself to silence on this occasion, when we have to deplore the loss of one so eminent, and one, too, in the full ripeness of his manhood, and the full vigour of his intellect. Although it was the fortune of Mr. Cobden to enter public life at a time when passions were roused, still, when the strife was over, there was soon observed in him a moderation and temperateness of expression that intimated a large intellectual capacity, and high statesmanlike qualities. There was, in his character, a peculiar vein of reverence for tradition, which often, unconsciously to himself, subdued and softened the severity of the conclusions to which he may have arrived. That, sir, in my mind, is a quality which, in some degree, must be possessed by any man who attempts or aspires to sway this assembly. Notwithstanding the rapid changes in which we live, and the improvements which we anticipate, this country is still Old England. What the qualities of Mr. Cobden were in this House, all now present are able to judge. I think I may say that, as a debater, he had few equals; as a logician, he was close and compact; and, I would say, adroit, acute, and, perhaps, even subtle. Yet, at the same time, he was gifted with that degree of imagination, that he never lost sight of the sympathies of those whom he addressed; and so generally avoiding to drive his arguments to an extremity, he became, as a speaker, both practical and persuasive. The noble lord, who is far more competent than myself to deal with such subjects, has referred to his career as an administrator. It seemed to be destined, notwithstanding the eminent position which he had achieved and occupied, and the various opportunities which offered for the ambition which he might legitimately possess, that his life should pass without the opportunity of showing that he possessed those talents and qualities so valuable in the council and in the management of public affairs. But still, it fortunately happened that, before he quitted us, he had one of the greatest opportunities which a public man could enjoy; and, in the transaction of great affairs, obtained the consideration of the two leading countries of the world. There is something mournful in the history of this parliament, when we remember how many of our most valuable and eminent public men have been removed from among us. I cannot refer to the history of any parliament that will bear down to posterity so fatal a record. But, sir, there is this consolation remaining to us, when we remember our unequalled and irreparable losses—that those great men are not altogether lost to us; that their words will often be quoted in this House; that their examples will be often referred to and appealed to; and that even their expressions may form a part of our discussions. There are indeed, I may say, some members of parliament who, though they may not be present, are still members of this House, are independent of dissolutions, of the caprice of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden was one of those men. I believe that, when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that, looking to his expressions and his deeds, he was, without doubt, the greatest political character that the pure middle class of this country has as yet produced; that he was an ornament to the House of Commons, and an honour to England."

Far and near were these mournful utterances caught up and re-echoed. In Paris, amongst the wisest and best, there was as much readiness to do honour to Cobden's memory as in his native land. The Foreign Minister of France,

M. Drouyn de Lhuys, introducing an admirable innovation in diplomatic intercourse, sent a despatch on the all-engrossing theme to the French ambassador in London. In the *Corps Legislatif* the subject of Cobden's death was introduced by its vice-president, M. Forcade la Roquette; and his warm expressions of esteem were applauded and repeated on every hand. "The death of Richard Cobden," he said—"and I feel convinced that the Chamber will cordially join in the sentiment—is not alone a misfortune for England, but a cause of mourning for France and humanity." The emperor, in a similar spirit, declared his intention to place a bust of the great free-trader in his palace of Versailles. In the Prussian Chambers there was a sympathetic allusion to the subject; nay, more—on the distant Danube, when Prince Milosch, of Servia, heard of the mournful event, he decreed that services in honour of Cobden's memory, and for the peace of his soul, should be held in the cathedral of Belgrade, and the other churches of the Greek communion in his principality. In his native land, in all quarters, of course, many were the touching tributes to his memory. Eliza Cook's welcome verse spoke the language of the people. The poetess writes—

"Cobden! proud English yeoman name!  
I offer unto thee  
The earnest meed that all should claim  
Who toil midst slander, doubt, and blame,  
To make the free more free.

"Thy voice has been among the few,  
That plead for human right:  
It asked for justice; and it grew  
Still louder, when the fair and true  
Were trampled down by night.

"Thy heart was warm; thy brain was clear;  
Thy wisdom prompt in thought;  
Thy manly spirit knew not fear,  
But held its country's good most dear,  
Unwarped, unbribed, unbought.

"An open foe, a changeless friend,  
Thy gauntlet pen was flung,  
More ready, in thy zeal, to lend  
A shield to others, than defend  
Thyself from traitor's tongue.

"A homebred Caesar thou hast been,  
Whose bold and bright career  
Leaves on thy brow the wreath of green,  
On which no crimson drop is seen,  
No widow's bitter tear."

In 1854, died one of the extreme Tories, the Marquis of Londonderry. No man had been more unpopular in his day. During the reform agitation he had been mobbed, and had his windows shattered; and, again, when he was nominated ambassador to the Court of Russia, such a dead set was made against him in the House of Commons, that Sir Robert Peel had to cancel the appointment. The Duke of Buckingham thus comments on the latter act:—"Thus, most unjustly, as well as most impolitically, a nobleman of the highest character and abilities was deprived of the opportunity of serving his country effectually, at a period when a good understanding between the Courts of London and St. Petersburg was essential to the interests of both countries, to gratify private spite and public prejudice. There is reason to believe that the anti-British policy of the Russian government—which, under the management of English diplomacy, a few years later, produced that discreditable climax of official blundering, the Crimean war—commenced from this date; and that the blood and treasure it cost England would have been saved, and the ill-feeling it created throughout Russia prevented, had Lord Londonderry been permitted to fulfil the duties of the important post in which he had been



placed." Such is the opinion of an eminent nobleman: it is not the one, however, generally entertained. In 1861, a monument to his lordship's memory was erected in Durham. At the inauguration Mr. Disraeli assisted. After the ceremony was terminated, lunch was held in the Town Hall; and, in reply to the toast of "Mr. Disraeli and the House of Commons," the distinguished Conservative leader, amongst other things, said that he had been bound to the late marquis by powerful ties for a quarter of a century.

"I knew him well; and I am fain to believe that I rightly appreciated the qualities of his mind and character. He was an individual of the greatest energy that I ever was acquainted with; but there was this characteristic about the late Lord Londonderry—that he combined the greatest energy of character with a singular softness of heart. He was, above all men, a faithful friend. It has sometimes been said that he, as all other public characters, was occasionally deficient in that judgment which is necessary to a perfect character; but this must be said of Lord Londonderry—that he succeeded in everything that he undertook; and when I find general and signal success, I am not prepared to admit that there has been deficiency of judgment. As a soldier, no one will deny his eminence. At one of the most important crises of modern times—in an age celebrated for its warriors and commanders—in an age which produced Murat and Anglesey, Charles Stewart was second to no one. But I say that he was not only a successful soldier; he was an extremely able and adroit diplomatist. The political records of the important age of the revolutionary wars, which are now irregularly unfolding their secrets to the generation of which we are members, only bring forth fresh evidence of the great abilities of the late Lord Londonderry. Why, in the work of Sir Robert Wilson, who was opposed to him in politics (which has recently been published), we find there frequent, abounding, and indubitable evidence of the great services which Lord Londonderry—then Lord Stewart—accomplished for his country, many of which, until this publication, were unknown; and his services, when he was at the head-quarters of the King of Sweden, have taken their place in history with his humane virtues, which considerably contributed to the great result which crowned that long revolutionary war. What his character was in private life, how he dealt with those great accidents of fortune which he partly inherited, and which he otherwise in a still more interesting manner acquired, you who sit in this hall are better judges than I am, having had much communication with him upon public affairs; but I can truly say that Lord Londonderry was, although a party man, more superior to prejudice than many individuals that you encounter. He was a man of a very enlightened mind—a man who thoroughly understood the characteristics, and necessities, and wants of his age; and a man who truly understood that, in a commercial country like England, the aristocracy of the country should place themselves at the head of that great commercial interest, and sympathise with it. In all this we find Lord Londonderry was not wanting; but, on the contrary, I think I am only speaking the language of accurate truth, when I say that he, individually, gave no mean impulse to the enterprise of the county of Durham. Well, then, I say that a man who has done these things; who, in his youth, was a successful warrior; who, in his middle age, was entrusted with the diplomatic interests of his country—representing them at foreign Courts, or conducting negotiations on the field of battle even, with signal success; who, in private life, and in the more contracted sphere of the counties of Ireland and England, with which he was connected, showed himself possessed of all the qualities of an eminent citizen, was no mean character. He was one that deserved to be recollected in the affections of his country; and I think that it is equally to the honour of himself and his family, and to the county of Durham, that you, in so public a manner, record your sense of his character and services; and, in doing so, encourage those who come after him to remember his great example, and to retain, by the utmost efforts of their nature, the affection of this great community."

In legal circles the mortality had been almost as favourable to Lord Palmer-

ston as in ecclesiastical ones. Many were the vacancies which occurred while he held the reins of office; and great, consequently, was the patronage which was placed in his hands. When, in the month of February, 1855, Lord Palmerston constructed a government upon the ruins of the fallen administration of Lord Aberdeen, he retained Lord Cranworth in his place upon the woolsack. In like manner, Sir Alexander Cockburn and Sir Richard Bethell (who, with the Lord Chancellor, had been appointed, in 1852, by the Earl of Aberdeen) were continued in their respective posts of Attorney and Solicitor-general. At that time the Lord Chief Justice of England was Lord Campbell; and the judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, were Justices Coleridge, Wightman, Erle, and Crompton. Her majesty's Court of Common Pleas was presided over by Lord Chief Justice Jervis; the puisne judges being Justices Cresswell, Williams, Maule, and Crowder. The year 1855 witnessed a vacancy in the Common Pleas, when, by the death of Mr. Justice Maule, Mr. James Shaw Willes was elevated to the judicial bench. In November, 1856, Lord Chief Justice Jervis died, and Sir Alexander Cockburn, the Attorney-general (whose defence of Lord Palmerston, on the last night of the Pacifico debate, was not forgotten), was placed in the vacant seat. In 1857, the death of Baron Alderson occasioned another vacancy, which was filled up by the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Channell. In 1859, Mr. Justice Crowder died, and his judgeship was given to Sir H. S. Keating. In March, 1860, Mr. Baron Watson died suddenly, whilst on circuit; and Mr. James Plaisted Wilde, Q.C., was appointed in his stead. Then, in 1861, Lord Campbell died suddenly. The next death was that of Mr. Justice Cresswell; and then the death of Mr. Justice Wightman placed another seat at Lord Palmerston's disposal: and thus the old men moved off, and the new ones rose up to occupy their vacant places. The ancients tell us, those whom the gods love die young. According to the poet Wordsworth, those whose hearts are dry as dust, burn to the socket. Are we to imagine, then, that bishops and judges are not favoured of heaven? At any rate, it must be confessed they cling to life, and die very hard. Nevertheless they had all to join in the dance of death, and to go the way along which the loved, and the beautiful, and the young, upheld by a living faith, have gone before them, rejoicing. It is oftentimes very astonishing how old people, for whom one would think the world had few charms, shrink from parting with it. Old Madame Rothschild, mother of the mighty capitalists, attained the age of ninety-eight: her wit, which was very remarkable, and her intellectual faculties, which were of no common order, were preserved to the end. In her last illness, when surrounded by her family, her physician being present, she said, in a suppliant tone, to the latter—"Dear doctor, try to do something for me." "Madame, what can I do? I can't make you young again." "No, doctor, I don't want to be young again, but I want to continue to grow old." And this is the way with them all. To continue to grow old is a pleasure of which the young and vigorous can, however, form but a poor idea.

When Lord Palmerston was a baby, the great struggle for place and power, between Pitt and Fox, had but scarce begun. On he lived, as the men of George the Third's time, and of the Regency, and of the fourth George, and of the sailor-king, were, one by one, summoned to the silent land: and now for him, at length, the end draws near—

"The lights begin to twinkle from the rocks;  
The long day wanes; the slow moon climbs; the deep  
Moans round with many voices."



## CHAPTER XXIV.

## MORE ABOUT IRELAND.

If a certain historian be correct, she is the happiest woman about whom nothing can be said. There is a great deal of truth in this remark, if applied to nations. Those most talked of are not always in the happiest condition. For instance, there is Ireland. In parliament, no part of the kingdom creates such discussion; and yet, on all sides, it is admitted that no part of the kingdom is so unhappy; and not a year passes but the government and the people of this country have some cause for uneasiness respecting Ireland.

In 1858, several persons were arrested in Belfast, on the charge of being members of a private society.

In 1859, there were serious riots at Galway, on account of Signor Gavazzi (or Father Gavazzi, as he was sometimes called) visiting that town, and delivering a lecture there against popery. The same year a man named Daniel Sullivan was arrested on the charge of being a member of the Phoenix Secret Society. After a trial, which lasted three days, Sullivan was found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

In 1860, Mr. Pope Hennesy obtained leave to bring a bill into the House of Commons, embodying the principle of tenant-right; which, however, does not appear to have got much further. In England there are no complicated questions about tenant-rights. The law and the custom of the country are equally clear. In Ireland the tenant and the landlord are always at loggerheads. On one occasion, in 1861, Mr. Scully endeavoured to get the House to inquire into the conduct of a landlord—Mr. J. G. Adair—one of the justices of the peace for the county of Donegal, who had recently ejected nearly all the inhabitants from a tract of land on his estate in that county; but the motion was negatived. In that year the queen and Prince Albert visited the camp at Curragh, and the lakes of Killarney, and were received with an enthusiasm which showed how loyal the Irish were at heart, and how easy it would be to gain their affections if the English nation really cared to do so.

Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston's Irish Secretary, was always getting into scrapes with the Irish members. In 1862, he brought in a bill for the registration of births and deaths in Ireland; the plan proposed in which, was to entrust the registration to the constabulary in Ireland—a body of officers who were stated to be very efficient. A few days after, Lord Palmerston informed the Speaker that a breach of privilege had been committed by O'Donoghue, the member for Tipperary, who had sent a hostile message to Sir Robert Peel, on account of expressions used in the course of debate. After some explanations had passed, the honourable member for Tipperary, on the call of the Speaker, gave an assurance to the House that the matter would be carried no further.

In 1863, the lawlessness of the Irish was still further illustrated in very high quarters. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, in a progress through Galway, was shot at from an hotel at Maam, by direction of the Earl of Leitrim. Fortunately no harm was done; but the earl was very properly, shortly after, dismissed from the commission of the peace in the counties of Leitrim, Donegal, and Galway.

In 1864, the outrages in Ireland were of no ordinary character. In the August of that year there was an immense demonstration in Dublin, in honour of Daniel O'Connell, by laying the foundation-stone of a monument to his fame. The *Times* thus relates the affair:—

"The great day for Ireland has passed, and the monster procession went through the city without doing any mischief, except the serious loss inflicted by the

suspension of business. Nearly all the shop-windows were closed, and the town wore the aspect of a holiday. In almost every house along the line of the procession, groups of ladies and gentlemen were looking from the windows; but they had, in many cases, more of the manner of people enduring a privation than enjoying a triumph. The 8th of August might be called the greenest day that Dublin has ever seen. Green in profusion met the eye in every direction. The horses, the carriages, the drivers were all adorned with green—green in every shape in which it could be used. Those who could not afford to buy rosettes, or sashes, or scarfs, got leaves or boughs. With the native colour were blended white, yellow, and gold. These colours were all laid thickly on the immense standards of the trades, many of which had emblematic figures, and greatly delighted the crowds of men, women, and children in the streets, who presented one continued mass of human beings as far as the eye could reach along the line of procession in every direction. They had to wait long beyond the appointed time for the procession; but their conduct was marked with good order and good-humour throughout. The police had little else to do beyond sending vehicles in the right direction. Every section of the procession had its own chief and subordinate officers; and the whole moved according to a system of discipline which they had established. Ten o'clock was the hour mentioned for starting; but it was not till near one o'clock that the old state coach, drawn by six horses, was seen moving from the Mansion-house. The procession was formed in the order laid down in the programme; but there were gaps caused by the absence of classes that were expected to be represented. It was made up principally of the trades, the corporations, the schools, and the religious fraternities. Numerous bands played at different places as the procession advanced. It occupied one or two hours in passing each point, which shows to what a length it must have extended; but it was sometimes delayed by restive horses. There was not much enthusiasm manifested anywhere; but the fact that so much trouble had been taken, and so much money had been spent, to make the demonstration respectable and successful, shows that there is a deep feeling connected with the memory of O'Connell among the lower classes, and, to a great extent, among the middle class. Those who got up the demonstration have every reason to congratulate themselves with the result. It was, undoubtedly, a magnificent display; and none of O'Connell's monster meetings was more orderly or more peaceably disposed. There was no manifestation of sectarian feeling on the part of the most ignorant—no disposition to molest any one on account of his religion or politics. There may have been isolated cases of rudeness out of the range of the procession, but they must have been very rare. It is impossible to calculate the number of people attracted by the show; but, in Dame Street alone, there could not be less than 50,000; while many other streets were filled in the same way.

"The procession arrived at the site of the monument in Sackville Street, where the hordes filed off. Within the enclosure Sir John Gray read an address to the Lord Mayor, eulogising O'Connell, recording his achievements for Ireland, and, in the name of the monument committee, of which he is chairman, requesting him, as chief magistrate of the city, to lay the first stone. His lordship read a suitable reply, after which the ceremony was performed. The trowel, of solid silver, was presented to the Lord Mayor; and the mallet, of ornamented bog-oak, to Sir John Gray, to mark the committee's sense of 'the vast services rendered by him in originating, promoting, and carrying out to the advent of its completion this great national monument of Ireland's gratitude to her greatest son, the immortal Liberator.'

"It was near six o'clock before the ceremony was over. It was almost immediately followed by a banquet in the round room of the Rotunda, the whole area of which was covered with tables, and still it was said many failed to obtain accommodation. About 400 gentlemen sat down to dinner. The Lord Mayor presided. 'The Pope' was not in the list of toasts. 'The Queen,' 'the Prince and Princess of Wales,' &c., were received with warm demonstrations of loyalty; Mr.



Levey's band adding much to the entertainment; while one gentleman sang 'God save the Queen,' and some other songs. On 'the Memory of O'Connell' being given, the most Rev. Dr. Leahy, Archbishop of Cashel, delivered an eloquent speech. Able speeches were also delivered by Mr. Kavanagh, Sir Colman O'Loughlen, M.P., Mr. Dillon, Sir John Gray, and especially by Mr. Maguire, M.P. Mr. Kavanagh, one of the secretaries, complained that the higher classes, whom O'Connell had emancipated, were not represented there that day; it was a people's demonstration, and the people had not yet got the benefit of emancipation. 'No peers, no judges; none but the people honoured the immortal memory of the great Liberator.' Mr. Maguire, replying for 'the House of Commons,' paid an eloquent tribute to the memory of O'Connell, dwelling on his services in parliament to the cause of freedom and humanity, and urging the necessity of union among the Irish representatives. Emancipation had done everything for the rich—nothing for the poor; and it was their duty to see it carried out on behalf of the people. Sir John Gray complained strongly of the absence of the bar, which owed so much to O'Connell; yet it was represented only by Sir Colman O'Loughlen and Mr. Dillon. Sir Colman made an able speech. He was there as O'Connell's friend, and one of his counsel—as the son of the first Roman Catholic elevated to the bench, as the result of emancipation—as member for Clare, where the victory was won. He described the Roman Catholic party as O'Connell found it, and the position to which he had raised it. Mr. Dillon made a powerful speech; but rather strong against England, and 'the rule of the stranger.' The proceedings were harmonious, and the meeting enthusiastic. It did not break up till midnight."

Such a demonstration as this was too much for the bigoted Orangemen and advocates of Protestant ascendancy in Belfast. Accordingly, they met in vast numbers; burnt O'Connell's effigy in that town, and, on the following day, buried the ashes with much solemnity. This gave, as it was intended that it should, great offence to the Roman Catholics. Irritable feelings were excited, which resulted in an attack on the party forming the procession, the breaking of the windows of Protestant chapels, and the wrecking of the houses inhabited by Protestants. On succeeding days the riot became more violent, as the anti-Catholics banded themselves in fight against their adversaries. The police were powerless, were pelted with stones, and driven away. As these combats continued, a military force was sent for, and additional policemen; but though these came to the number of 3,000 soldiers and 1,000 of the police, they were ineffectual to stop the rioting, though many of the ringleaders were apprehended, the mob fired upon, several killed, and many wounded; and, as is usually the case, some children and others who had taken no part in the riots. These disgraceful proceedings were continued till Saturday, the 13th, when a cessation took place. They were, however, renewed on the 16th, and continued till the 19th. The town authorities seemed quite to have lost their heads, or else were strangely indifferent to the preservation of peace. Any community, however uncivilised, would have been disgraced by such an outrageous defiance of law; but Belfast was a superior town: indeed, on the whole, one of the most flourishing and well-behaved in Ireland. For more than ten days Belfast was engaged in a quarrel which might have obtained the dimensions of a civil war, if it had not been, comparatively speaking, bloodless. Before the riots had ended there were nine killed and 176 wounded, in the general hospital, besides many who were treated at their homes privately. The repetition of the scandal will probably be prevented by a better organisation of the police; but the occurrence forcibly illustrated the difficulty of governing Ireland, where national character intensifies sectarian bitterness and hate. In the House of Commons, the events we have recorded gave rise to considerable discussion. Yet, if well-meaning were sufficient to ensure peace in Ireland, she should have been content. Her Lord-Lieutenant, the Earl of Carlisle, was one of the most amiable and well-meaning men in the world. According to him, better days were always coming—the Irish millennium was always near. He was succeeded by Lord Wodehouse,

a younger and more active man, who had the good fortune to find the country recovering slowly from severe and long-continued distress. But till the English parliament dare boldly face the church question, it is in vain to hope that time or prosperity, or emigration, will abate the discontent and the propensity to internal discord which still interrupt the social regeneration of Ireland. The population, in 1861, was returned as 5,793,967. This total is made up as follows:—

Established church	...	...	...	...	693,357
Roman Catholics	...	...	...	...	4,505,265
Presbyterians...	...	...	...	...	523,291
Other Protestant denominations	...	...	...	...	72,054
					<hr/> 5,793,967

According to these figures there had been a decrease in the number of church-goers, since 1834, of 158,707, in spite of the fact that, within the same period of time, nearly 300 new churches had been built. The total of parishes in Ireland is 2,428. Nearly two-thirds of this number consist of parishes in which the members of the church of Ireland are less than 100; yet this is the church which we endow and support. In the good old times we did a great deal to convert the Irish. All Catholics were excluded from the upper and lower houses in the Irish parliament; Catholics were forbidden from acting as guardians to their own children, or the children of other persons. By becoming a Protestant, any child could secure the estate of a Catholic father; marriages between Catholics and Protestants were strictly forbidden; no papist was to be the purchaser of land, or even to hold a lease of it for more than thirty-one years. Catholics could not hold an advowson, nor any civil or military office; could not vote at elections; could not reside in Limerick or Galway, except upon certain conditions. Such was the benignity of the English policy towards Ireland in 1704; and five years later this affection became still more intense. From that time no papist was to distrust the care of Providence so far as to be the holder of an annuity for life; while greater inducements than ever were held out to such persons as might be disposed to profess themselves Protestants, and to such as might choose to employ themselves in detecting popish delinquents. The papist wife, who coveted an increase to her jointure, had only to renounce papistry, and the law granted her desire. The papist son, who wished to obtain an immediate and separate means from his father's estate, had only to certify to the Court of Chancery his conversion to Protestantism, and the thing was done at once. According to the same act, every priest, professing to be converted, was entitled to receive £30 a year; and any papist schoolmaster, practising his vocation, might be transported to the plantations. Any papist above eighteen years of age might be compelled, by any two magistrates, upon pain of imprisonment for twelve calendar months, to disclose what he knew about popish priests, the celebration of the mass, Catholic schools, or any such matters. In all trials having respect to those statutes, the juries were to be exclusively Protestant. No Catholic was to serve, on any occasion, on a grand jury. Papists were not only excluded from acting for members of parliament, but from voting at parish vestries, or from filling the important and lucrative offices of constable or watchman. In this posture of affairs it can be no wonder to find the gown and wig among the things forbidden to the Irish Roman Catholic; but it did seem like verging upon excess, says a writer in a quarterly review, even in those insurrectionist days, to enact that a Protestant barrister marrying a papist wife, should be judged in law as having become a papist, and subjected to the usual penalties. Nor was this all—the priest who officiated on such an occasion ran the chance of being hung. It was further decreed by the legislative wisdom of those days, that, during war with a popish power, persons who suffered loss by privateers were to make their presentment of loss to a grand jury, and the said jury were to



levy an impost exclusively upon Catholics, that the sufferers might be indemnified. It is true those acts have long since been repealed; but it is equally true that the bitterness which they created still remains, and that the church which they were to foster and protect is as hateful to the people as ever.

In 1844, Mr. Disraeli said—"That dense population, in extreme distress, inhabited an island where there was an established church, which was not their church; and a territorial aristocracy, the richest of whom lived in distant capitals. Thus they had a starving population, an absentee aristocracy, and an alien church; and, in addition, the weakest executive in the world. Well, then, what would honourable gentlemen say if they were reading of a country in that position? They would say at once, the remedy is revolution. But the Irish could not have a revolution; and why? Because Ireland was connected with another and more powerful country. Then what was the consequence? The connection with England thus became the cause of the present state of Ireland. If the connection with England prevented a revolution, and a revolution were the only remedy, England, logically, was in the odious position of being the cause of all the misery of Ireland. What, then, was the duty of an English minister? To effect, by policy, all those changes which a revolution would do by force. That was the Irish question in its integrity." And, we may add, that was the policy which neither Mr. Disraeli nor Lord Palmerston had the moral courage to recommend or carry out.

Left to themselves, the Irish did what most Englishmen would have done. In the last week of December, 1864, an "aggregate meeting," convened by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, "for the purpose of forming an association for the following objects—1. A reform of the law of landlord and tenant, securing to the tenant full compensation for valuable improvements; 2. The abolition of the Irish church establishment; 3. The perfect freedom of education in all its branches"—was held in the round room of the Rotunda. It was (says the *Freeman's Journal*) a most important demonstration in every respect, well calculated, from its numbers, and the rank and position of those who attended, to exert a powerful and wide-spread influence, and entitled to the utmost weight and consideration. The requisition for the meeting, presented to the Lord Mayor, was most numerously and influentially signed. It included the signatures of twenty-three members of the Catholic hierarchy, the names of several hundreds of the other dignitaries, parish priests and curates, members of parliament, magistrates, landed gentry, professional men, merchants, traders, municipal representatives, &c. The meeting was called for twelve o'clock; but long before that hour, the round room, and the approaches to it, were densely thronged. The platform and the reserved seats and gallery were crowded by Catholic prelates, clergy, and laymen, representing every class and interest of the country; and we learn from the papers, that the meeting, which was very enthusiastic, passed off with great success. Now, it is not creditable to the government of the people of this country that such a meeting as this should have taken place. It is a disgrace to the statesmanship of our time, that even now, after Ireland has been united (?) to England for ages, it should be left to any class of men to prepare a new Irish agitation; and that the requisition, calling upon the Lord Mayor of Dublin to inaugurate it, should have been signed by twenty-three Roman Catholic bishops, 200 priests, and some thousands of laymen; and certainly no facts can be well more disgraceful, or more tend to alienate the Irish from the English, than those embodied in the resolution moved by Archbishop Cullen—that "we demand the disendowment of the established church in Ireland, as the sole condition on which social peace and stability, general respect for the laws, unity of sentiment and of action for national objects, can ever prevail in Ireland. And, in making this demand, we emphatically disown any intention to interfere in the vested rights, or to injure or offend any portion of our fellow-countrymen; our desire being rather to remove a most prolific source of discord, by placing all religious denominations on a footing of perfect equality, and of



leaving each church to be maintained by the voluntary contributions of its members." And stating that the entire ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland, amounting to upwards of £580,000 annually, are appropriated to the maintenance of a church which counts among its members only 691,872 persons, or less than one-seventh of the entire population.

Englishmen talk of their love of justice and fair play; but it seems utterly ignored where Ireland is concerned. No questions are so exciting as religious ones. Of all bitterness there is no such bitterness as that created by theological controversy; yet, age after age, we have left this perpetual root of bitterness in Ireland. And what has been the consequence?—that the Irishman is, and ever has been, the enemy of the Englishman; that, wherever he goes, he carries with him hatred of England and its institutions; that our government, even now that Ireland has been decimated by famine and emigration—now that the population and the resources of Ireland have dwindled down under English rule—are afraid to sanction a volunteer force in Ireland; and that when our Foreign Secretary lectures the Russian czar or the Austrian emperor, in accordance with the traditions of the Foreign Office, he is generally reminded of Ireland. Thus it is that Ireland is everywhere supposed ready to throw off the hated yoke of England, and to be only united to her by main force. In the coming war with which the American Irish threatened us, when the southern confederacy should have been broken up, Ireland was to be the land in which a friendly welcome was to be given to an invading foe. Frenchmen are to be met with by thousands imbued with a similar idea. Rightly or wrongly, such seems to be the opinion held in all quarters of the globe. Thoughtful men have in vain endeavoured to arouse Englishmen to the dangers of the present state of things. The church in Ireland, wrote Dr. Arnold years and years ago, no human power can save; and Professor Goldwin Smith—a man whom no less an authority than John Stuart Mill declares to be the first political philosopher of the day—is equally emphatic. Yet no one dares to touch the question; and when the Whigs carried the appropriation clause, the nation was more ready for a fair settlement of the difficulty than now. We write as Englishmen. We cannot see that Protestantism gains by force. We believe it is the church question which keeps Ireland Roman Catholic and anti-English. In doing justice there can be no danger. Scotland is a case in point. At one time our English statesmen were foolish enough to attempt to force an episcopalian church establishment on presbyterian Scotland. How that attempt failed—how the force invoked recoiled upon the heads of those who invoked it—how Wentworth, and Laud, and Charles I., all perished miserably on the scaffold in consequence;—all these things are matters of history. But the case of Ireland is still stronger. There must be more sympathy between episcopalian and presbyterian than there can be between episcopalian and Roman Catholic. Historically, as Dr. Cullen observes, the re-establishment of our episcopalian church in Ireland had no pretence whatever to national sanction or support. The body which adopted Henry VIII. as head of the church in Ireland was not, properly speaking, a parliament of Ireland, as a great part of the country at that time had not acknowledged the dominion of England, and did not therefore send representatives to her parliament; and we all know that the legislation, by means of which it was sought to compel Catholics to become Protestants, was of the most atrocious character. To do to others as we would wish others would do to us, is the golden rule. No Englishman would like to see the church of the minority established in these realms; nor can we expect an Irishman to think otherwise. Ireland may have other grievances; but the church question is the one which has made Ireland England's difficulty, and which has neutralised all the advantages resulting from the union. It is one which English people must learn to face—one on which English statesmen must be prepared to legislate. Ireland must be made prosperous and contented as the rest of the empire; then the Protestant in Ireland will have reason to rejoice when the bitter feeling with which he is regarded by the majority of his countrymen shall have passed away.



In vain, however, were such considerations urged upon our ruling classes. The British nation went one way, and the Irish another. Towards the autumn of 1865, the Irish executive began to be alarmed. The towns were filled with Yankee Irish with a military air, and with money in their pockets. Inflammatory writing and language abounded on all sides. There were rumours of nightly drillings, and of a wide-spread conspiracy. In September, the Dublin police took possession of the office of the *Irish People* newspaper, and seized the persons found on the premises, charged with being members of the Fenian brotherhood, and engaged in treasonable attempts against the government. On the same day numerous arrests were made in Cork, the persons arrested being charged with the like offence; but, in their cases, bail was taken for their appearance at a subsequent investigation; while, at Dublin, the persons charged were remanded to prison till another hearing. Other arrests followed; and, on September 20th, some persons were apprehended in Manchester and Sheffield, and conveyed to Dublin, charged with conspiracy. A few days after Lord Palmerston's decease, Stephens, *alias* Power, the reported Chief Centre of Ireland, was apprehended, examined, and committed for trial—a trial which he managed to elude by escaping from his cell, and since which he has contrived to retain his freedom, in spite of the efforts of the police, and of the attraction of enormous government rewards.

The Fenian madness is a cause of some uneasiness among all classes in England. It is popular nowhere save in Ireland, among the shopmen and peasantry. The gentry, clergy, middle classes, and press, have not among them, it appears, a single sympathiser for the association; but still there are as many in connection with it as may do some mischief. The *Saunders' News-Letter's* "own correspondent" had a letter on "the social aspect of the south of Ireland;" in which he takes a present view of Fenianism, the result of his inquiries, and a retrospective glance at the secret societies of the past. He says—

"Having, in my former letter, adverted to the favourable changes that have taken place in the condition of the people of the south of Ireland within the last twelve or fifteen years—the improvement in their dress, their cottages, and their personal habits, and the facilities given to those living in the remotest districts of finding a market for anything edible which they may have to sell—I propose giving the result of minute and careful inquiries on two or three matters of general interest at the present juncture; and perhaps, as 'Fenianism' is so much spoken of, a few truthful observations as to the movements may not be inapposite. It is not a little singular that, among the humbler classes of the peasantry and small farmers, though they are much better off than hitherto as a class, there is a strong feeling of discontent and dissatisfaction with the English government, and yet founded upon no one specific ground of complaint. The fortunes realised by some of their friends and acquaintances in America, the insecurity of the tenure of land, the narrow limits of the frontier ground interposed between independence and absolute penury, exercise their disturbing influences; but the principal cause is to be traced in the extensive circulation of seditious publications, dwelling for ever on the same theme, and inculcating undying hatred to the 'Saxon.' At fairs and markets, in the very hearing of the police, the largest audience is sure to be collected round the two scarecrows who yell most loudly treasonable appeals to the passions and prejudices of their hearers; and then, again, the forge, or some other place of meeting, or the hill-side, is chosen on Sunday, and crowds listen with an attention only to be equalled by Arabs when gathered round their best story-teller, to abuse of the government, of landlords, of the stranger, and to every narrative of alleged oppression and wrong, until interest deepens into excitement, and sympathy with the oppressed into revengeful feelings against their alleged oppressors. Week after week this ceaseless 'drip' keeps falling; and, hearing only the one side, what wonder if a serious impression is at last made? They attribute something of a mysterious veracity to anything which is in print; and the expression, 'Sure I seen it on the paper,' is considered a conclusive answer to any further cavil or doubt as



to the accuracy of any statement, however startling. The writings of the *Press* newspaper, vigorous and impassioned, heralded the rebellion of 1798. The *Felon* and other journals, of a congenial class, urged on the outbreak of 1848; and similar agencies are still at work, and with a zeal and an ability deserving of a better cause. Since the middle of the last century, secret societies and associations and factions have had their centres of union and their affiliated members; and while 'Shanavests' and 'Caravats,' 'Three-year-olds' and 'Four-year-olds,' 'Magpies' and 'Black Hens,' owe their origin rather to personal feuds, perpetuated from one generation to another with Corsican fidelity, than to sectarian prejudices, 'Ribandism' has always had politics mixed with its other objects; and, while widely spread in Dublin, Meath, Longford, Louth, Cavan, Donegal, Antrim, Westmeath, Fermanagh, Sligo, &c., it is a remarkable fact that it did not succeed to any very material extent in the south of Ireland; and when, in 1840 or 1841, the whole correspondence of the society became known to the authorities by the arrest of one of the principal secretaries, it was ascertained that a single lodge did not exist in the county of Tipperary, save one on the confines of the county Galway. Any one who desires to read some very interesting details as to the way in which the people are organised for an insurrectionary movement, ought to turn to the report of the secret committee of both Houses of parliament, made in 1798; and then, as since, one of the great objects has been to give the general members as little insight as possible into the acts of the confederacy, or of the heads of each department, but merely to inform them that, when called upon, they are to exercise a blind and an implicit obedience. To give an example. At the summer assizes of 1840, a man named Clark was indicted at Cavan for taking an unlawful oath, and an approver, Andrew Brien, gave this evidence:—'*Court*.—What was the object of the society? *Witness*.—I cannot well tell, but we were bound to obey. Obey whom?—The heads of the people. And did you not understand the society's object?—I could not tell except by hearsay; but I always heard that we were to be ready here if any attack or insurrection should break out in England.' The Riband Society drew within its circle very many by fear, but more by the knowledge that a member who supposed he was injured could call upon others to assist him, even to the extent of murder; and the decrees of the German 'Secret Tribunal' were not executed with more terrible certainty, as 'Wild Goose Lodge,' and other well-known scenes of slaughter on a larger scale, can attest. And now, as respects the 'Fenians,' what are their objects?—what are their resources and organisation? and what repressive measures ought to be adopted in reference to them? Their objects are avowed, and with a candour that would make a diplomatist doubt they were speaking the truth, and raise an unfounded suspicion they were trying to mislead—a separation from England—a republic in Ireland—the repulsion of all who either oppose them or don't assist them—a redistribution of the land; and, in fact, wholesale confiscation. That there are sincere and genuine enthusiasts among the society may be fairly conceded—men who think Ireland has been treated as a step-sister; and that from almost the sovereign down to the humblest English official, there has been a long-continued neglect of the country, and a slighting tone adopted in speaking of the people; but the great majority of the enrolled consist of the youth who are fired with martial ardour—of those in towns who think their condition ought to be superior, or have nothing to do, and of farming lands and servants; while there are others to whom the emphatic line of Crabbe will apply individually—

'Who call the wants of knaves the rights of man.'

"From inquiries made in various quarters, it appears that the present 'Fenian' movement is met by the most strenuous opposition of the Roman Catholic clergy: the people are warned against its folly and its impolicy; and in most instances the rites of the church are denied to those who persist in remaining members of the confederacy: but with all the veneration attached by the peasantry to the priestly



office, the instances are not unfrequent in which even this ban has lost its influence. The respectable and comfortable farmers have no sympathy with the conspiracy, but speak of it with either contempt or dislike; and if any have joined it, it is in order to secure immunity from annoyance or violence, believing that the whole affair will blow over when thoroughly friendly relations are established with the American government. The principal districts in which 'Fenianism' prevails to a marked extent, are Dublin, Cork, Tipperary, Limerick, and Sligo; and 'drilling' at night, and at pretended hurling-matches, is carried on to a great extent. The instructors are easily procured, for the militia always comprises among its members idle fellows who are ever ready for mischief, with something of the knowledge of soldiers, without the fidelity which always springs from discipline; and when, at the end of a month, they are flung out upon the country—neither civilians nor soldiers—it is easy to get some to act as instructors in the newly-organised corps. The constabulary have not been very successful in making arrests; and if, instead of going in uniform, they were to assume a disguise, their military carriage and air—their moustaches and general appearance—would at once expose them to detection. A good many arms are being got together by the affiliated members; but their drilling is as yet very inefficient, as the men do not venture together in any large bodies. However, their organisation is becoming better every day; and without there being the least ground for alarm, in mercy to the people themselves, those who have made them their dupes ought to be proceeded against without delay. In many places men from America have returned with the ostensible view of seeing their friends, and well supplied with gold, not greenbacks. I may add, that a most intelligent gentleman, who has just returned from Chicago, after being absent from Ireland for eighteen years, informed me that a very strong conviction of the feasibility of an invasion of this country exists across the Atlantic; that money to a very large amount is available, but that the American government is most sincere in its efforts to discourage the whole affair; that every opposition is given to it by the officials, and not without already producing a good effect."

After Lord Palmerston's death Fenianism became more outrageous. In America, Canada was invaded; and in Ireland the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. The land was overrun with soldiers and armed constables, and spies and informers reaped golden gains.

Government is, of course, blamed by both parties. According to the Conservatives, too much deference is paid to the Roman Catholics. According to the latter, the Protestant party have been petted up till they feel themselves above all law.

The Whigs are very unhappy, and much to be pitied. They have laboured for the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities: their greatest men were excluded from office for years on that account. Whenever they have endeavoured to benefit their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, or confer honour on any of them, all the Irish Protestant newspapers have been in a rage, and wrote bitter things concerning them. And yet the Irish will return Tory M.P.'s—will leave their native land—will emigrate to America—will there cherish the deadliest hate against British rule—and will plot and plan for Irish independence, and for the day when the French tricolour and the stars and stripes shall wave harmoniously over the green isle.

Nor are the Tories much better off: their own party charge them with disloyalty to their principles—with truckling to the Roman Catholics—with damaging the Protestant ascendancy, which they consider the bulwark of Ireland; and thus, amidst the discordant utterances of faction, the voice of the nation is never heard.

The want of Ireland, said the social reformers, is temperance societies. Certainly, at one time, the Irish were not the soberest people in the world. Well, Father Mathew paraded the land. His converts, who took the pledge from him, were numbered by tens of thousands. He led a blameless life, and died almost a

martyr to his zeal. But a sober conspirator is rather more dangerous than a drunken one. Lodge such a man comfortably; give him good wages; take the tax off his inflammatory newspaper, and teach him to read it, and he becomes more of an enemy to England and its institutions than ever.

The clergy of the established churches of England and Ireland have also their remedy—more churches, more money, more power. Their demand is natural: unfortunately, it is not statesmanlike.

In the meanwhile Ireland arms and conspires; and with a basis of operations in America, threatens to be more dangerous to the peace of the empire than even of old. If the national leaders of the people, the country gentry and the clergy, do not head this movement, it matters little if America can send over hundreds of Irishmen, rich in gold, in political warfare, in military experience.

## CHAPTER XXV.

### LORD PALMERSTON ON THE PLATFORM.

In this country there are many ways of acquiring popularity; indeed, our natural reverence for aristocracy is so great, that it is wonderful indeed if any of them ever become unpopular. John Bull loves a lord; and the sight of one presiding at a Bible meeting, or on the platform of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or uttering a few unconnected sentences about the conversion of the Jews or the coming of the millennium, is very precious in the eyes of old women of either sex. It is seldom that a lord can do wrong; and, if he does, his admirers and apologists have a great deal to say on his behalf. Exeter Hall was an institution which sprung into existence as if for the purpose of placing the middle classes of this country more and more under the influence of the peerage; and one of the latter class had only to appear on that platform, and he was received with thunders of applause. City men are almost as bad as the religious public. A railway, or a financial company, that can secure the services of a lord as chairman, has great reason to rejoice. If it goes to the dogs, and ruins all the shareholders, no fault will be found with the noble lord in the chair, in whose favour a unanimous vote of thanks is sure to be passed. Human nature is much the same now as it was when Pope wrote—

“What woful stuff this madrigal would be  
In some starved hackney sonnetter or me;  
But let a lord once own the happy lines,  
How the wit brightens! how the style refines!  
Before his sacred name flies every fault,  
And each exalted stanza teems with thought.”

And it is this feeling which has made the reputation of so many statesmen, and has handed names down to posterity, of which otherwise we should never have heard.

Poor Brough wrote—

“My lord Tom Noddy’s the son of an earl,  
His hair is straight, but his whiskers curl;  
His lordship’s forehead is far from wide;  
But there’s plenty of room for the brains inside.  
He writes his name with indifferent ease,  
He’s rather uncertain about the d’s;  
But what does it matter if three or one  
To the Earl of Fitzdottrel’s eldest son?”



In any circle, amongst any set of men, Lord Palmerston would have won his way: less than any man living did he trade on his rank and title. He never pushed himself before the public by presiding at public meetings, or taking any part in them, except in his own immediate locality, and amongst those who had a legitimate claim upon his services; or when his position was such that it would have looked like affectation to refuse to appear upon certain platforms—as when he visited Manchester and the north, and was received with joyful acclamations in what he deemed the head-quarters of the enemy. But the House of Commons was his place; and he was content to rely upon the power he acquired there, without adding to his popularity by talking Buncumb in Freemasons' Tavern or Exeter Hall. As a neighbour, he was always ready to be present on public occasions—as the opening of the Hartley Institute, at Southampton; or on the occasion of an international banquet. But it was at Romsey that he was most at home; and it was that little town—called Romsey-in-the-mud by its neighbours—that he most delighted to honour. And on such occasions as those of agricultural meetings and ploughing-matches, what sensible truths he uttered, and what wholesome advice he gave to farmers and their labourers! How steadily did he set his face against the workman's bane, beer and tobacco; and how strongly did he urge upon the farmers the need to them of a better education, and of more enterprising habits! At such times all England was delighted to look on and listen. Let us give one special illustration of his lordship's neighbourly character. In 1860, Dr. Beddome, his lordship's country medical attendant, died, at a good old age. The doctor was a consistent and most respected dissenter. He had been more than once mayor of Romsey; and he was, besides, the senior deacon of the congregational chapel in that town. Lord Palmerston attended at his funeral, and followed as a mourner at it, even though it took place in a dissenting chapel. This was a kindly thing to do: but how few noblemen would have done the same; and how easily could his lordship have pleaded as an excuse (if excuse had been needed), the want of time, occasioned by the heavy burden of state affairs. It was this genial nature that made his lordship popular everywhere, as much on the platform as in the House of Commons.

Let us chronicle a few of his utterances on such occasions.

In October, 1855, the mayor, town council, and inhabitants of Romsey presented a congratulatory address to him on the capture of Sebastopol, on his return to his seat at Broadlands. In reply, his lordship said—"The occasion which has assembled us together to exchange congratulations, is one of the most important which has happened in recent times. I mean the capture of Sebastopol. It is an event of which our allies the French, the Sardinian, and the Turkish nation may be proud, and which must inspire joy and exultation in the breast of every generous freeman on the surface of the globe. We have been told that the commander of the Russian army has left nothing to the allies but 'blood-stained ruins;' and no doubt, so far as depended on him, as far as time allowed, as far as his means of destruction extended, it was his intention to leave nothing else to the victorious enemy. But although, in retiring, he destroyed everything that could be burned within the time allowed for his remaining stay, the allies, on entering the town, found among the blood-stained ruins no less than 4,000 pieces of cannon, an immense quantity of powder, an enormous amount of cannon-balls, and materials of various kinds, necessary for the prosecution of the war. Well, what does this teach us? Does it not show us the vast importance attached by Russia to that stronghold of Russian power in the Black Sea? Why was that vast accumulation of warlike material made—more than could be required for the prolonged defence of the place? It was because they felt that Sebastopol was the stronghold of their power in the East; and that from that centre was to radiate the extensive powers which would lead to the conquest of Constantinople, and from that centre of empire to sway the destinies of Europe. That, I think, affords satisfactory evidence of the judgment of our government in directing against Sebastopol the



great power of our army and navy in the Black Sea. We have been contending with an army of what they call a million of men, but which may be set down at 600,000, or even 800,000 men. Well, admit the whole of the greater portion of that force was set free from the Baltic to the Euxine, by the neutral position of those powers which border the European frontier of Russia. Russia had nothing to fear from either Austria or Prussia. She was, therefore, at liberty to send down to the Crimea and defend Sebastopol, and drive our armies, as she *naïvely* boasted she could do, into the sea. She had nothing to prevent her sending army after army, division after division, the garrison of Poland and the garrison of St. Petersburg—in fact, every man whom she could feed at so distant a place. Well, gentlemen, every war is a calamity; but this war has brought its evils as little home to the people of this country as was possible, consistently with the nature of things. Our enemy has seen his arsenals in the Baltic blazing to the sky. Our enemy has seen that great fleet of twenty-eight or thirty sail of the line, on which the revenues of the country were squandered, and for which crews were conscribed—and, to make those crews efficient, they were taught, during the icy rigours of winter, to mount fictitious masts erected in their barrack-yard, and to imagine that they were climbing up the rigging of their fleet—they have seen that fleet cooped up ignominiously in its harbour, not daring to face the allied squadrons, which never were superior in number to the Russians, however superior they might be in other respects on which victory depends. In the Black Sea they have seen a fleet which, not long ago, proudly swaggered over the waves of the Euxine, and whose most glorious achievement was the barbarous outrage at Sinope; they have seen that fleet, not captured in open battle after a brave resistance, but sinking under the hand of its own commander, and leaving nothing but the topmasts sticking out of the water as marks of the degradation to which they have been subjected. They have seen the great arsenal, and the grand capital of which they were so proud, but of which they were so chary as to allow no prying stranger to enter its walls, so that the only Englishman that has ever given any account of it was compelled to find his way within the gates disguised as a peasant, and covered up in a cartful of hay; they have seen the arsenal so studiously concealed from the eyes of jealous strangers, in the possession of an enemy, after having vainly endeavoured for twelve months to defend it. It would ill become any man, in the situation which I have the honour to hold, to talk of the future, or to advert to prospective measures; but this, I think, I am well warranted in saying. Viewing the manly spirit which animates the people of this country—viewing the general support which parliament has given to the government in every measure connected with the prosecution of the war—viewing the perfect good faith and undeviating constancy of purpose which animates our great ally the Emperor of the French—viewing the sympathy which our cause excites among the people of every free country in the world, even in places where mistaken views of interest lead their governments to a different course—viewing, also, the justice of our cause, I am confident we may look to such a result of the contest in which we are engaged, as may place the future liberties of Europe—as may place the interests, the main and permanent interests of the countries which are now allied—upon a sure and lasting foundation.”

In November, 1860, Lord and Lady Palmerston paid a visit to Yorkshire. The original programme extended over two days only; but invitations to take part in many public ceremonies poured in upon him, and he was unable to get away. One day he attended a conference in the Royal Reception-room, Town Hall, Leeds, on the subject of the amendment and consolidation of the bankruptcy law. In the evening he presided at a *soirée* of the Leeds Mechanics' Institution and Literary Society. The next day the Leeds corporation presented a congratulatory address; and again in the Victoria Hall, to which no less than 1,800 tickets had been issued: which event was celebrated by all the state and ceremony that the corporation could employ. His lordship also presided at the annual



meeting of the Leeds Ragged School and Shoeblack Society, at the Music Hall, in Albion Street. Shortly after, Lord Palmerston became the guest of R. M. Milnes, Esq., M.P., at Fryston Hall, near Pontefract, where he received an address from the corporation, and opened the new market-place which they have recently built. During his stay he met the tenantry of his Fairbairn estate, who invited him to luncheon at the vicarage, Ledsham. An interesting incident occurred at Fairbairn. His lordship noticed a dirty-looking, miserable little building, used as a lock-up, and remarked that it was as bad as one of the prisons in Naples. On inquiring to whom it belonged, he was rather surprised to find that he was the owner of it himself. He instantly gave orders that it should be pulled down. Leaving Fairbairn, the noble lord gave a piece of land to enlarge the burial-ground attached to the chapel of ease there. He also inspected the schools in the village, of which he is the principal supporter.

On the 29th of March, 1863, Lord Palmerston was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow. In consequence of the eager throng of the citizens, the ceremony was removed from the old College Hall to the neighbouring church of St. John's, which was filled from an early hour by an excited crowd of students and ticket-holders, who whiled away the tedious hours of waiting (says the writer of the account in the *Annual Register*) by strains of melody of a character rather different from those which are wont to rise within those walls. On the appearance of Lord Palmerston he was loudly cheered. After thanking the students for the honour they had conferred upon him, in electing him to the office of Lord Rector, he gave them an address, which was admitted by all to be a masterpiece of sound and earnest reasoning, founded upon the maxim that education is the art which teaches men how to live. Lord Palmerston warned his hearers that there must be a moral foundation to knowledge; that self-discipline and self-control are necessary to successful culture; and that, moreover, they must be acquired early; for, as a general rule, they are unattainable by those who have passed a youth without fixity of purpose. But, of learning proper, the best language must be sought in the classic books of Greece and Rome, and in the best productions of British genius. Mathematics, too, as the most perfect of sciences, and the most useful form of logic, should form part of the student's course. History is to be read as far as is consistent with application to a particular line of study; and he strongly dwelt on the necessity of cultivating the study of chemistry, geology, and physiology. These sciences he passed in review, and urged his hearers to look upon them not merely as means to success in life, but as completing the culture of an English gentleman; enabling him to judge of his place and scope in the world—in short, teaching him how to live.

In the evening a grand banquet was given to Lord Palmerston in the City Hall, where covers were laid for upwards of 900. Here, again, the Premier delivered an excellent speech. From that part of it which was political we make the following extract:—"It has been, no doubt, the great object and aim of those who have been engaged in the conduct of public affairs, to maintain the honour and dignity of the country; but, at the same time, to preserve it in peace. And, gentlemen, that is not so difficult as at first sight it may appear; for so long as those who are charged with the responsible management of the public affairs know that they are watched, on the one hand by an intelligent and careful nation, who would, by interposition, prevent them from engaging rashly in unwarrantable enterprises; they know, on the other hand, that there is a determined spirit in the British nation, which will not suffer itself to be wronged—which will not brook insult—which is ever ready to repel aggression; and, by maintaining within itself the means of an adequate defence, will teach other nations of the world that we refrain from aggression, while we are determined to commit no wilful injury; while we are resolved to infringe on no right belonging to others, on the other hand, *Noli me tangere*. Let others be careful how they give us cause to resent anything that would give us just reason to deem it provocation: but I am glad to



say there never was a period when this country was upon better terms of friendship with all the nations of the earth. I advert not to those contending parties in America, who sue us like rivals who sue a fair damsel, each party wanting us to take up her cause, and each feeling some little resentment on account of that neutrality which we preserve, and which they, both of them, in some degree, characterise as unfriendliness. But, setting aside these feelings, which create no irritation in our mind, and do not in any degree diminish that friendly feeling which ought to prevail between kindred races, as they and we are—I say, barring that, we may fairly congratulate ourselves that there is no nation, no government with whom we have political or commercial intercourse, with whom we are not upon terms of the most satisfactory friendship.”

The next day his lordship went to Greenock, being taken down the river with a distinguished party. At the Town Hall he received addresses from the provost, and other authorities of Greenock; after which he sat down to a handsome entertainment, and, on his health being drank, made a complimentary and interesting speech. Returning to Glasgow, he was present, in the evening, at a crowded *soirée* of the working-men, given in the City Hall. In his reply to an address presented by them, Lord Palmerston said, in reference to the civil war in America—“It is not fitting or becoming, that the British nation, as a nation, should take part in that contest. It is a lamentable event in the history of mankind; and, depend upon it, that war, under any circumstances, is a great affliction to a country: that of all wars that most afflict a nation, a civil war is the one most to be deplored; for there you have brother fighting against brother, relations arrayed against relations. You have a contest scattered over the wide surface of the country, and desolation marking the track of the contending armies, perhaps even greater than that inflicted by the invasion of a foreign force. We lament that state of things; we should be most happy if it had been in the power of this country, by any available interposition, to reconcile those conflicting parties; but we felt, and we know, that any attempt of that kind, in the existing state of things, would have an effect the reverse of that we intended—would not accomplish the purpose we had in view, and would render it difficult, if not impossible. If a different state of things should arise—that the friendly counsels of England should be listened to with success—I am persuaded that you, and the rest of the people of this country, will think that we acted rightly in taking this decision. That war has, indeed, inflicted deep suffering and privation upon large portions of the working classes of this country—less, perhaps, in point of extent here, in Glasgow, than in Manchester and other manufacturing districts; but even here it must have been grievously felt; and many might have felt that we, by taking part in that contest, and declaring ourselves on the one side or the other, might have put an end to that privation and hardship: but that would have been a short-sighted course; and, depend upon it, if we had taken that course, we should have failed in our object, and increased, instead of diminishing, the sufferings we intended to alleviate.”

On the following day Lord Palmerston was present at a breakfast given to Admiral Sir James Hope by the president of the Garter Club, and was then elected an honorary member, on which occasion he made a brief but humorous speech. He then proceeded with a large party to Edinburgh, to receive the freedom of the Scottish metropolis. In returning thanks, his lordship reverted to the three precious years he had spent in early youth at the Edinburgh University, and was glad to find that the citizens remembered him for “auld lang syne.” His lordship spoke strongly of the advantages arising from municipal institutions, in the preservation of the liberties of the people, and in the education of men to take part in the larger affairs of life. Lord Palmerston then proceeded to the university, where a large assemblage had collected, in order to receive the honorary distinction of LL.D. The ceremony took place in the Library Hall. His lordship’s reply consisted chiefly of a sketch of his own experience at the Edinburgh



University, and of laudatory remarks upon the university systems of England and Scotland. He dwelt, with a natural warmth of feeling, upon the associations called up by a sight of those walls; within which, some sixty years ago, he listened, with a goodly array of young men who have long since become famous, to the prelections of Dugald Stewart and Playfair. In his honour a grand banquet was given in the evening at the Music Hall. Lord Palmerston, after his health had been drank, in reply, said that the kindness he had received in Scotland had made the deepest impression on his heart. He spoke of the encouragement such honours held out to public men. He referred to his former residence in Edinburgh, and said that he looked back to that period with the most affectionate remembrance; and the association and friendships which were there contracted he should ever regard as the most valuable of his life. His lordship then spoke of the assistance he had derived, in public life, from the counsel of men distinguished for their ability and talent. Reference was made to the satisfactory state of our army and navy, and to the existence of our volunteer forces. His lordship dwelt, long and eloquently, upon the moral influence of Great Britain upon other nations. There was hardly a single country in Europe, he said, that had not, in some particular shape, with some modification or other, institutions formed after the pattern, or, at least, upon the principles, of her constitution; and he was proud to say that some of those nations were greatly indebted, for the benefits they enjoy, to the assistance and countenance which they receive from the government of England. Warm sympathy was expressed for the Poles; and his lordship deeply deplored the unhappy war raging in America. In the former case, diplomatic interposition was, however, all that the government or the nation at large, he thought, considered advisable; and, in the latter case, notwithstanding the sufferings among large masses of our artisans consequent thereupon, we had no alternative but to pursue a strict neutrality between the contending parties.

Lord Palmerston's next visit was to Leith, where he spoke on the subject of free trade, and its great development, of late years, in the neighbouring towns he had come to visit. Years had done wonders, combined with free trade, to increase the happiness and wealth of the community amongst whom he was then sojourning. Scotch philosophers had been the first to investigate into, and explain, the causes of national prosperity. In Scotland his lordship had learnt the elements of that science; and it was but right and proper that he should return to Scotland to see how, in the increase of its population, in their growth in wealth and education, and civilisation, free trade had blessed the land. The Scotch are said to be a sober and more hard-headed people than the English; not so easily led away by cant; but their reception, nevertheless, of the Premier was all that his best friends could desire, while his lordship's speeches on the occasion were wise and weighty, worthy of his station and himself.

In 1864, the new Lord Mayor of London had the pleasure of inviting to the annual dinner at the Guildhall two of the most distinguished men of the day. In his speech on the occasion, Lord Palmerston gracefully alluded to it. He said—"I congratulate you, my Lord Mayor, that you have, on the present occasion, among the vast number of distinguished guests, two men eminent in their respective countries for their great intellectual attainments, and for the services which they have rendered to mankind. One is our fellow-countryman; the other is a native of that great country, and a member of that great nation, which lies but a short distance from our shores. It is needless that I should say that the first I allude to is a man well known to this city as in all countries—I mean Lord Brougham. He is a man who has distinguished himself in every career of intellectual display; whether as an advocate, most eloquent and successful—whether as a parliamentary orator, with eloquence and power never excelled—whether as having distinguished himself in literature—whether as having trodden successfully all the various paths of science—or whether, not content with his own attainments, but anxious to spread the blessings of learning and instruction



throughout the land, as the promoter of the diffusion of the knowledge and education of all classes of the community. But you have also a most distinguished foreigner. You have Monsieur Berryer, a man who has attained the greatest eminence in his own country; whose name is known throughout the nations of Europe as being unrivalled in eloquence at the bar, and respected and esteemed for that dignity of character, for that elevation of mind, and for that nobleness of sentiment, which are essential, when combined with eloquence and talent, to make the perfection of legal or any other character. I am glad, my Lord Mayor, that you have had the opportunity of doing homage to the ability and talent of France, by inviting to your table the man who is the most worthy representative of the intellect and, I will say, the industry of his country. I trust, my Lord Mayor, that this banquet may add another link to that bond which ought to unite, and which, I trust, does unite, two nations neighbours to each other—nations which are capable of inflicting on each other immense injuries as enemies; but which are, on the other hand, able to confer the greatest benefit as friends."

In the same year, the memorial statue, erected in the city of Hereford, to Sir Cornewall Lewis, was publicly unveiled by Lord Palmerston. There was, of course, an immense assemblage of people. His lordship paid a cordial tribute, on the occasion, to the memory of Sir G. Lewis, dilating on his vast learning, his great talent, his wonderful aptitude for business, his genial friendship, and his amiable disposition. In 1864, Lord Palmerston worked very hard as a speech-maker, and made exertions that would have been very trying to many a younger man. In August, that year, Lord Palmerston visited his old constituents at Tiverton. He had not done so for many years, having been obliged, on several occasions during that period, to disappoint them, after all arrangements had been made, owing either to the exigencies of public business or temporary illness. A short time previously, Lord Palmerston intimated that he would pay his long-deferred visit on the occasion of Tiverton races; and the mayor and corporation determined to invite him to a public banquet the previous evening. The Premier, who looked remarkably well, and was in excellent spirits, arrived on Tuesday, August the 23rd, from London. At Tiverton junction he was heartily welcomed by the mayor, and a considerable number of the chief inhabitants of the borough; but when the train arrived at Tiverton, the station and its approaches were densely crowded, and his lordship, having entered his carriage, was escorted, amid enthusiastic cheers, to his hotel, the Three Tuns. Lord Palmerston, on presenting himself at the window of the hotel, was received with loud cheering. When silence was restored, his lordship said—"Ladies and gentlemen, young and old, my good friends all,—I thank you most heartily for the kind reception which I have just met with from you. I am accustomed to be warmly received in this town of Tiverton; but I must fairly own that I never met with a more general and cordial reception than that which has awaited me to-day. I am always glad to come to this town, and this beautiful neighbourhood, whenever I am able to do so. I regretted very much, upon a late occasion, I was tied by the leg, unable to leave; and I think that a man who is tied by the leg and foot to London, cannot hope to make his way to Tiverton. I am glad, however, to meet so many of you to-day; and I trust that, during the two days that I mean to pass here, I shall have an opportunity of seeing all those good friends to whom I am so much indebted. If I can augur of the future increase and prosperity of Tiverton from what I now see before me, I must say that the great numbers and good looks of the rising generation, augur well and fairly for the increasing prosperity of Tiverton. It is a proof that the people have good employment; and the appearance of the younger part of them shows that due care is taken of their education and manners, and that the good and healthy air of this town has its due effect upon the constitution and looks of the young. We all know that those who are past their childhood—especially those of the fair sex—retain their good looks to a later period of life here than is often their lot in other



parts of the world. I can only repeat that it has given me the greatest pleasure to be so well received; and that, from the bottom of my heart, I thank you for the kind demonstration which you have made. I am glad I have the pleasure of meeting you in such magnificent weather. It has sometimes occurred, when I have been here, that there has been a little dewy fall from the skies. You are, I believe, panting for rain; but I trust it will not come down for the next two or three days, so as to injure the attendance at your races." Three cheers were then given for the ladies, three for the mayor, and three for Mr. Hole; and Lord Palmerston retired.

In the evening there was, of course, a banquet, under the presidency of the mayor. After his lordship's health had been drunk, Lord Palmerston, who was received, according to the report in the *Times*, with several rounds of most tremendous cheering, replied as follows:—

"Mr. Mayor and gentlemen,—I beg to return you my most sincere thanks for the kind manner in which this toast has been proposed and received; and I can assure you that a testimony of good-will from the people of Tiverton must always be most grateful to me. I feel under most peculiar obligations to the people of this town. I came here first a stranger—an entire stranger—to you; and if, as you did, you accepted me as your member, it could only be from your thinking that my conduct in public life had been such as to deserve your approbation. From time to time it has been a source of great pride and gratification to me to find, on every occasion of my revisiting this town, that the cordiality of my reception may be accepted as a proof that the good opinion which originally led to your taking me as your member has not been diminished, but increased. I can assure you that I feel a most hearty pride at being, and, I trust, continuing to be, your member. The reverend gentleman who returned thanks for the clergy, did me the honour to allude to matters which are the personal acts of the minister who fills the office that I do—I mean the choice of the persons who are to fill the high dignities of the church. Well, I am glad that the selections which I have thought it to be my duty to make, have met with general approval. I hold the task of making those selections to be one of the most important duties that can devolve upon the person who holds the office which I have the honour to fill, because there are many things which depend upon a good choice. These are, in the first place, the moral and religious training of the country—of those who are members of the church of which these persons are chosen to be high dignitaries; but there is a further bearing on a good selection in these cases; because, in a free country like this, where every man is entitled to hold his own opinions, where men are accustomed to investigate the grounds of the opinions which they entertain, or which they may intend to adopt, there must necessarily be great differences on religious subjects. No doubt we might all wish that the whole nation could be of one creed. That is impossible in a free country; but what can be done, and what ought to be done, is, that those who hold high office, and those who are at the head of the established church, should, by their bearing towards those who differ from them in religious opinions, mitigate those acerbities which are, perhaps, inherent in the diversities of opinion on so important a matter, both here and hereafter; that they should, by their manner and bearing towards those of different opinions, render those differences as little perceptible as possible, and endeavour to inculcate that charity which is the basis of our common religion. I trust and believe that the choice which it has been my lot to make, has been made in this direction, and that those who have been elevated to fill high positions in the established church, will, by their bearing towards different communions, continue to prove that, although each may be sincere in holding opinions at variance with one another, nevertheless all feel that there are common feelings, common interests, and common obligations which pervade the mass, and that those feelings, interests, and obligations ought not to be embittered by any asperities between different sects. We have, most unhappily, seen very recently proofs that, in the sister kingdom, those



differences of religion have led to most disastrous and lamentable outbreaks; but let us not ascribe events entirely to difference of religious opinion; they are rather connected with long-established feuds, and should be looked upon rather as political demonstrations than as uncharitable feelings, in regard to the religions of the two parties who come in contact. Notice was also taken of the circumstance, that it has fallen to the lot of the government of which I am a member, to preserve to this country the blessings of peace. Now, gentlemen, no doubt the preservation of peace, with honour, with consistency, with the interests and dignity of the country, with its interest at home and its dignity and reputation abroad—the preservation of peace upon such conditions is the primary duty of any administration that may be charged with the conduct of national affairs. I do not think it desirable that we should be of that section, which I believe really does not now exist, although it is a by-word sometimes used—I do not think it desirable that we should be of the peace-at-any-price party. I do not believe that those who are commonly designated by that name are at heart insensible to the honour and interest of the country. There may be differences of opinion as to the magnitude of the case, as to the validity of the reasons which may induce the country to draw the sword; but I am persuaded that there is no Englishman who would not, if he thought the interests, and honour, and dignity of the country were at stake, join in its defence by whatever means, personal or otherwise, which he might be able to command. There have been, indeed, of late years, during the five years which I have been in office, several cases which might have led this country into war. We might have embarked in war, and with great acquiescence in popular feeling, for the rescue of the Poles. Well, we deplore their unhappy fate; we endeavoured to enlist in their cause the moral and political action of all the different powers of Europe, and we did so; but they unfortunately failed; and perhaps it was in the nature of things that our efforts should not succeed. But however the enthusiasm of a large portion of the community might have urged us to take more active measures, we did not think—and I believe the majority of the country is of opinion that we thought right—we did not think that was an occasion in which it would be justifiable to call on the people of England to make those exertions and sacrifices which such a war would have called for. Then there was the American civil war. There is much diversity of opinion as to the merits of the contending parties. Some are for the North, on the ground of their hatred of slavery; some are for the South, on the ground of their love of freedom and independence. We might have been involved one way or the other if we had listened to many of those who urged different courses of action; we might have been involved in the quarrel; but I believe the country is glad we have abstained from taking that course. We could have had nothing to gain, and we should only have added thousands of our own sons to the hecatomb of victims which that calamitous and bloody slaughtering war has sacrificed. We may hope that time and reflection—and recent advices from America show some favourable symptoms—we may hope that time and reflection, and the fact of the immense losses which have been sustained, and the slight hopes of success which appear on the part of the North—we may hope that many months will not elapse before some progress will be made towards healing that tremendous breach which now exists. But of this I am convinced—that if we had yielded to those who, from the purest motives and from a sincere conviction, urged us to interfere, to offer our mediation, to endeavour to reconcile the quarrel between the parties before matters were ripe for our adjustment, we should not only have failed in accomplishing that object, but we should have embittered the feelings between that country and this, and have rendered the future establishment of good relations between us and them less easy and more difficult. Therefore I think our neutrality was wise, and I am sure that it is appreciated by the country at large. Well, then came that unfortunate Danish question; and I am sure every Englishman who has a heart in his breast, and a feeling of justice in his mind, sympathises with those unfortunate Danes, and wishes that this country could have been able to draw the



sword successfully in their defence; but I am satisfied that those who reflect on the season of the year when that war broke out, on the means which this country could have applied for deciding in one sense that issue—I am satisfied that those who make these reflections will think that we acted wisely in not embarking in that dispute. To have sent a fleet in mid-winter to the Baltic, every sailor would tell you was an impossibility; but if it could have gone it would have been attended by no effectual result. Ships sailing on the sea cannot stop armies on land; and to have attempted to stop the progress of an army by sending a fleet to the Baltic, would have been attempting to do that which it was not possible to accomplish. If England could have sent an army—and although we all know how admirable that army is on the peace establishment, we must acknowledge that we have no means of sending out a force at all equal to cope with the 300,000 or 400,000 men whom the 30,000,000 or 40,000,000 of Germany could have pitted against us—such an attempt would only have insured a disgraceful discomfiture—not to the army, indeed, but to the government which sent out an inferior force, and expected it to cope successfully with a force so vastly superior. We are, as a nation, I trust, sufficiently strong to defy attack from any enemy. We have, in round numbers, 300,000 militia and volunteers, in addition to the regular army; and, as they can be immediately increased, we have force amply sufficient to defy attack, from whatever quarter it may proceed. We have a fleet growing every year, adapting itself to the modern requirements of naval warfare, and fully adequate for the defence of the country. Our object is defence, not aggression. But this state of things does not allow this country to undertake vast operations beyond its confines; calling on the nation to make great exertions, to make great sacrifices, both of men and money, in order to send out an army fit to cope with the vast establishments maintained by other countries. Well, we did not think that the Danish cause would be considered as sufficiently British, and as sufficiently bearing on the interests, and the security, and the honour of England, as to make it justifiable to ask the country to make those exertions which such a war would render necessary; and I am sure that the verdict of the country will be, that, in this respect, the government judged rightly. But, while we have preserved peace, the nation has been doing its work too. It is the duty of the government to keep the country at peace as long as it can do so without sacrificing its honour, its dignity, or its interests. It is the duty of the people of the country to advance its trade, to extend its commerce, to increase its resources, and to promote its welfare of every sort and kind. This duty has been nobly performed by the people of this kingdom; and there never was a period of equal length during which this country has made such enormous strides in wealth, and in everything which constitutes the comfort, the happiness, and the welfare of the nation. The government can only contribute to these results by removing obstacles and affording facilities; but it remains for the people themselves to make those exertions by which alone these results can be obtained. Government cannot interfere with private enterprise. Every now and then we are called upon to subsidise or assist this or that enterprise; we are told that a little contribution from the public revenue would set up this manufacture, would assist another, would give scope to industry, and would foster a rising commerce; but these things are only done in countries where the people are paralysed by despotic power, and where they require the vivifying and electrical touch of the government to rouse them to an exertion which is not their natural condition, nor their habitual practice. In this country every man is alive, every man knows best how to employ his capital, how to direct his genius, whatever it may be: whatever line you may take, whether it be active exertion in distant parts, or the studious labour of invention at home, or the direction of the industry of thousands of our manufacturing workmen, in this country every man knows best how to contribute to the public wealth and to his own prosperity and advantage; and all that the government has to do is to leave things alone, to throw down barriers and obstructions, where barriers and obstructions are



pressed, and to give that freedom to industry, and activity to commerce, by which alone the general welfare of the country can be advanced. That has been our task, and I think we have performed that task well and successfully; and if anybody will take the trouble to look back—which few men are disposed to do, because they are too busy looking forward—if any man will look back, and glance at the immense progress which has taken place in this country during the last thirty years, he will be astonished at the magnitude of the improvements which have been made, the magnitude of the obstructions which have been thrown down, the magnitude of the new doors to industry which have been opened, and the progress which the country has made in national wealth and the comfort and happiness of the people. I need not, indeed, preach these doctrines in this town, because here they have not only been understood, but successfully practised. It is not in Tiverton, where a most thriving and durable manufacture has been so long established, that I need debate on the advantage which genius, industry, enterprise, capital properly applied and adapted with skill, produce not only to the individual who directs the machine, but to the whole community who are in any way connected with such a system.” The noble lord, after passing a high eulogium on his lamented colleague, Mr. Heathcote, concluded by thanking the guests around him for the manner in which he had been received among his kind friends in Tiverton, saying that these periodical visits were always marked with a red letter in his diary.

A few days previously, Lord Palmerston had paid a visit to Bradford, Yorkshire, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new Exchange. It was originally intended that the visit of the Premier should not in any way have been converted into a political demonstration. However, previous to his lordship’s wish, a meeting of the working-men was summoned by placard, for the purpose of reviewing Lord Palmerston’s representative policy; of considering in what manner the unenfranchised working classes of this great community ought to receive him on his approaching visit; and to determine what steps should be taken by them to undeceive him as to the supposed apathy and carelessness of the people on the importance of parliamentary reform. This meeting did not seem to have been numerously attended; and the local organ of the press protested, in terms not very complimentary, against the claims of its promoters to be considered the champions and representatives of the unenfranchised working classes of Bradford. Certain it is that the meeting was by no means unanimous. The chief objection of nearly every speaker was, that Lord Palmerston was not the right man to lay the first stone of the new Exchange, because he had never done anything for commerce; and that another, whose life had been devoted to efforts to liberate commerce, and to cause that extension of trade which rendered a new Exchange necessary, might have been more appropriately selected to perform the ceremony. Moreover, it was alleged that his lordship had played false on the question of reform, and had burked the reform measure which he had been pledged to carry; and on which, if he had been sincere, he ought to have staked the existence of his ministry.

Many of these statements, however, were disputed by persons in the meeting, and uproar was frequent. For instance, a person in the gallery insisted, when this statement was made, that Lord Palmerston had not been the cause of reform failing, but the indifference of the people themselves. The following were the resolutions which were passed, with some dissentients:—

“That this meeting believes that Lord Palmerston, although formally pledged to a considerable extension of the franchise—not only at Willis’s Rooms, in London, in the spring of 1859, but on other occasions in the House of Commons—has, nevertheless, been the greatest obstruction to every measure of reform, no matter by whom introduced. That this meeting, although told that Lord Palmerston has no direct political object in view in his forthcoming visit to lay the foundation-stone of the new Exchange, denies that he can, on such an occasion as that event, divest



himself of his political character and influence; and therefore we, the working-men of Bradford, deem it a most fitting and legitimate opportunity for exhibiting to his lordship our disapprobation and disappointment at his breaking faith with the people in not fulfilling those pledges; and of protesting against his assumption that they are apathetic and careless about reform, and content with the extravagance at home and jealousies abroad, promoted by his lordship's policy. That we, the unenfranchised men of Bradford, as a method of showing our disapprobation of such political immorality and injustice, do hereby pledge ourselves, on the occasion of his lordship's visit, to observe a dignified but significant abstinence from all enthusiastic cheering.

"That an address, couched in a respectful but firm tone, embodying the spirit of the foregoing resolutions, be presented to Lord Palmerston, and that the address now read be presented."

The managing committee and the authorities declined to allow this address to be presented to Lord Palmerston; alleging, not without cause, that it would introduce a most unwelcome political element into the affair, altogether contrary to the understanding on which the invitation to visit the town on this occasion was given, and accepted by Lord Palmerston. After some negotiations, the result of which, according to the authorities, was that, in their opinion, a satisfactory arrangement could not be effected, they determined to adhere to their decision. The working-men's committee, however, issued the following placard:—

"The Palmerston reception committee having, on Friday, put their veto upon the address adopted at the working-men's meeting, sent on Saturday an influential deputation, consisting of the worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen Law and Scholefield, to negotiate some slight modifications in its terms, which were agreed to by the respective deputations from each committee, on the ground upon which it would be accepted by them. Mr. Alderman Scholefield took the amended address, and submitted it to the executive committee, who empowered him, after making further alterations, to inform the working-men's committee, that if the executive's alterations were adopted, the address would be presented to his lordship's secretary on Monday. When the address, with the executive's alterations, was again presented to them to-day at noon, the chairman of the executive committee, Mr. H. W. Ripley, emphatically declared the address should not be presented to his lordship. This is an unjust assumption, and can only be accepted as an unmerited insult offered to a large further meeting held on Monday last in the Temperance Hall. Working-men, respect yourselves to-morrow (Tuesday) by observing a peaceable demeanour, and let your determination be a dignified and significant silence.

"The Working-Men's Lord Palmerston Visit Committee, Bradford, Monday, Aug. 9, 1864."

A portion of the nonconformist body also issued a placard, protesting against the course pursued by Lord Palmerston with respect to church-rates, and other religious and controversial topics.

The procession, on the appointed day, passed off quietly. The proceedings were very simple. The mayor, Mr. Farrar, having briefly bid Lord Palmerston welcome to Bradford, and expressed the high sense of the inhabitants for the honour which he had done them in visiting their town, Alderman Wrightson, as the chairman of the New Exchange Company, presented the following address, which was read by Mr. Rawson:—

*"To the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, K.G., G.C.B., M.P., First Lord of Her Majesty's Treasury.*

"May it please your lordship,—Having requested your lordship to honour this town with your presence on this memorable day, we, the directors of the Bradford Exchange Company, would tender to you our warmest thanks for the gracious manner in which your lordship has consented to take part in the important

commercial ceremony for which we are assembled. Before we ask your lordship to lay the first stone of the structure which is to rise on this site, we would, for a moment, call your lordship's attention to the circumstances which have required its erection. The building now used as an Exchange was opened in the year 1828. Three years after, the population of the borough was 43,527; in 1861 it was upwards of 106,000. In the year 1828, there were not more than two or three firms trading as stuff merchants in the borough; in 1861, the number thus engaged was 157. In the year 1841, the annual rental of the property in the borough assessed to the poor-rate, amounted to £137,778; this year the same amounted to £315,740. In 1831, the number of houses was 8,193; now it is about 24,800. In 1836, the number of registered parliamentary voters was 1,347; now it is 4,564. The tables of mills and machinery, imports as to wool, and exports as to worsted fabrics, would show similar increase. It will not, therefore, surprise your lordship, that the building which was considered sufficient and capacious for the wants of 1828, should be found quite inadequate to the requirements of the present time. Sensible that our commercial empire is most emphatically peace, we congratulate your lordship on that enlightened policy which has so recently secured one of its blessings in the increased connections between this country and France, and of which we trust that the French treaty, so eminently beneficial to both countries, is but the first fruits; that your visit to this town is in a time of peace, and this proposed building is to be one of its many victories. The trade of this borough was never more remunerative than at present to the skilful hands of toil, and the vast capital that is employed connects it with the prosperity of the farmer at home and the distant colonist, with every sheepfold, however remote, and every shepherd in every clime. Its ambition is to hang its trophies in every household, to wrap them round the inmates of its houses. In asking you to lay the foundation-stone of this monument of the prosperity of this district, we congratulate your lordship that you have lived to see so many insignificant villages in your country rise to the importance of large and influential towns; so many limited occupations expand into gigantic manufactures; so many feeble tributaries to the national wealth become mighty streams, swelling its resources. Nor are we less glad to see you among us, after so many honoured years of public service, not an old man broken with the storms of state, but still a man of sovereign parts, whose age has charms in it. We shall be delighted to associate your lordship's name with the commencement of the important edifice which is to adorn and benefit this town, as we have long had to make your lordship's motto, '*Flecti non frangi*,' the foundation of the delicate manipulation of the materials of our manufacture; desiring for this building no higher honour than that it may witness as steady a growth in the success of this town as your lordship has seen in the prosperity of your country, and that passing years may mark its walls with as gentle a hand as they have laid upon your lordship, and gather around it as many gratifying marks of reverential regard as your lordship enjoys.

"Given under the seal of the Bradford Exchange Company, the 9th day of August, 1864."

The stone was then laid with the usual observances, amid hearty cheers.

Lord Palmerston then said—"Gentlemen,—I must, in the first place, beg the people of this town to accept my most hearty thanks for the kind and cordial reception which I have met with this day. I can assure you that the recollection of it will never depart from my memory. It has afforded me great pleasure to be instrumental in what is technically called laying the foundation of your new Exchange; but that foundation has been laid long since by the people of Bradford themselves. For it is in the industry, and in the prosperity, or in the successful exertions of the people of Bradford, that has been laid the foundation, not only of this building, but of real future prosperity, of which this building will only be the emblem and representative. You have, indeed, in the address which I have just had the honour of receiving, made mention of the wonderful growth of this town



in an inconceivable short space of time; but I trust that it is still destined to equal some of the larger seats of industry; and that, when I may have again the pleasure of revisiting this town, I may see that this prosperity has been continued still more rapidly than during the period to which your remarks have referred. Indeed, when I look round on your prosperity to-day, I should have thought that the population of Bradford had been much larger than I am told it now is. I know that I am welcome here, and I know how warm-hearted the hearts of Yorkshiremen are—how kind they are to those whom they have invited, and how disposed they are to show the warmth of their feelings by the strong outward demonstration of their voices. It is not the first time that I have been in this county; but I must say that the kind reception which I have this day received exceeds anything which I have been entitled to expect even from warm-hearted Yorkshiremen. Consider that what we have done to-day is, that we have laid the foundation of a temple of peace. Because your industry not only is productive of peace, but is essentially prosperous in peace; it is, therefore, the cause and the effect of peace; and I look upon it that the Exchange, which is to rise from this site, may be properly designated as a temple of peace. You have mentioned the great development which the commerce of this country, and the independence of Bradford, have received from the commercial treaty with France. Well, that treaty has had another effect; it has not only given a stimulus to industry, and compensated, in a great degree, for those calamities which have befallen other countries, but it is every year cementing the good feeling between two neighbouring nations, both of which have no cause for that reciprocal jealousy, have no ground for that mutual hostility, which has too often marked our nation in times gone by. But we have every reason to find, in interests in common, and in sympathies of feeling, mutual relations of friendship; and I trust that the people of Bradford may properly be said to be most important negotiators in that respect. Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer. If I were to say all I feel I should keep you here till sunset. It would be an unfair return for the courtesy you have shown me. I shall, therefore, again thank you for the kind reception which I have experienced, and say that I am proud of having been applied to to preside at this ceremony, which, I trust, is only the harbinger of future greatness and increasing prosperity for this industrious and increasing town."

In the evening there was a banquet; and, after that, a monster meeting in the great hall, at which 4,000 people were present, and at which another address was presented. A vote of thanks was then passed to his lordship for his attendance. In the course of his reply, Lord Palmerston said—"In despotic countries, those who have the conduct of affairs are deprived, by custom, of those opportunities which are enjoyed in a free country like this—mixing with their fellow-countrymen on those easy terms in which it has been my good fortune to mix to-day with the people of Bradford. It is customary to talk of the labours and anxieties of office. Well, those labours and anxieties are light to those who believe they are doing their duty to the best of their power. That only harasses which time and opportunity prevent them from doing; that which they are able to do is a source of satisfaction if they feel they are doing their best; and whether their efforts are attended with success or failure, their minds are satisfied that they have performed their duty to their country. But it is a great and heartfelt satisfaction to be able to meet, as I have done to-day, and as I have had other opportunities of doing, the people of England, to see their faces and show one's own. It is a great satisfaction to feel we meet on terms of good fellowship; and that while, on the one hand, sympathy must be excited more strongly in the minds of those who govern, on the other kindly feelings are inspired in the minds of those with whom we meet. It has been deeply gratifying to me to have been allowed this day to lay the first stone of a fabric which is to be the scene of business and commercial transactions in this, I will say great, but destined to be still greater and more prosperous, community. I might say that I hope this building will be everlasting; but I may, perhaps,

venture to think that, ample as its dimensions have been planned, capacious as its halls will be, the day may come when the increasing commerce and transactions of business in Bradford may outrun the capacity of the building; and that some other man succeeding me may be called upon to lay the first stone of a larger, ampler, and more capacious Exchange. There is something particularly interesting in this town of Bradford, for it is a type of the English character. I consider that character to be marked by perseverance, industry, enterprise, judgment, and courage in pursuing that which has been undertaken. All these qualities have been marked by the people of Bradford. You have converted that which may almost be said to have been a barren moor, with only a few scattered hamlets, into a thriving and great commercial town. Your progress has only been begun. Happy will it be for those who shall watch and mark its future career. But in the course which you are pursuing, you are not only contributing to your own wealth, and comfort, and well-being, but you are contributing immensely to the wealth and strength of that country of which you form so distinguished a portion. You have been pleased, in the resolution, to advert to the conduct of public men—mine among others. It is true, I trust, and am proud to say, that, during the last five years, this country has enjoyed a state of increasing prosperity and comfort; and that, while we have been in a thriving condition at home, our honour, and the dignity and interests of the country, have been maintained; and, adopting words which are familiar to the ears of all, the great influence of England in foreign countries has not been lowered. These results are the consequence of the combined efforts of an administration of which I may be permitted to say, that no other administration that ever existed contained within itself a greater number of able, distinguished, and capable men. I venture, without fear of contradiction, to say that there never was a government in which every department of state was better filled than it has been filled by the government which is now in power; and, therefore, it would be unjust to attribute any peculiar merit to any one member of the administration. The merit belongs to the combined and united efforts of all; and it is only by such a continued and united course of action, that any government can accomplish results worthy of obtaining the confidence and good-will of their fellow-countrymen. It has undoubtedly been one of the main objects of the policy of the government to remove all obstacles that stand in the way of the development of the industry and commerce of the country; and to induce, as far as they are able to do so, other countries to adopt the doctrine, and follow the example, which have been set to them, and held forth by us. But that task is not an easy one. There is nothing so difficult to uproot as a prejudice long established in the human mind; and although those who have cast away a prejudice, who have abandoned an error, and got into the road of truth, may wonder that others have not done the same, yet, it is a remarkable fact, that the mind of man is prone to cling to errors as long as men are interested in them; but when they have turned their back upon them, and have come to the truth, they wonder, not only that others do not follow them, but that they themselves should have ever entertained the same errors and prejudices. We all know what a long battle was fought in the country between free-trade opinions and the system of protection. We all know how many a man conscientiously thought that the country would be ruined by taking away that protection which this, that, and the other class had had from time immemorial, to the prejudice of every other class, to the detriment of the country at large. It is long before a nation can learn the truth that, in all regulations of commerce, you have to consider not the interest of one particular class as producers, but the interest of that much larger class, the consumers—namely, the whole nation. Although a government may often appear hard-hearted and severe in dealing with the interest of a class of producers who have hitherto been protected, yet it ought to be borne in mind that they are only doing their duty to the many; and that, in fact, even the interest of those few will, in the long run, find a benefit in the changes which



are made. We all recollect the time when, a proposal being made to abolish the protection which the agricultural producers had long enjoyed, the people were told that the country would be ruined—would be starved; that the land would go out of cultivation; that the agricultural interest would vanish and perish: and they said—‘For heaven’s sake, don’t inflict such a calamity upon the country!’ Well, what has been the consequence? Not only, by the repeal of the corn-laws, have the bulk of the community received large supplies of food which previously they could not get, and been able, in exchange for them, to send forth the products of their industry, but the agriculturist himself has greatly benefited by the change. Every class which is protected puts on its nightcap, and goes to sleep; and it requires that which the school-boys call ‘the cold pig,’ the application of competition, to stimulate the energies of the man, and make him bestir himself, and improve the calling to which he has devoted his mind and capital. Well, that has been the case with the agricultural interest, and that will be the case with all other nations which shall adopt our principles of free trade; but if you come to talk to them about it, they pour forth such force of argument that you would think the trade would be ruined, and the other branches of industry would be impoverished, and that you cannot afford to take the bread out of the mouth of this class and that class. But they forget the interest of the consumer. They look only to the small and local interests; and they are as deaf as an adder, and you cannot persuade them to adopt the doctrines you preach. Nothing can convince other nations except the broad and patent example of the prosperity which England has reached from the abolition of that protective system. We are often told that we ought to make commercial treaties with other countries, and thereby gain, in exchange for the admission of other commodities, facilities for the admission of ours. That system has been rendered impossible by that which we have already done. In the case of France it was a necessity, because the French government, although desirous of entering into a system of free exchange with us, was unable to do so, except as the consequence of a treaty; and that treaty, as has justly been said, and every man in this town well knows, has been of the greatest advantage to England. I am glad to think that it has been peculiarly beneficial to Bradford; that it has been a great advantage to the French nation, who, when it was first proposed, thought it was a calamity from which they could probably with difficulty recover. Well, that treaty was made. We had to take off import duties from an immense number of commodities. It was impossible to limit the abolition of duty to articles coming from France, because, with our insular position, commodities from other countries would surely have come through France; and, therefore, what was granted to France was granted to every other country. In fact, we have acted upon what common sense prompts—your negotiation with a foreign country. If it is real and sincere that you will abolish certain import duties here if they will abolish certain duties, that is very much as if two men had shackles on their legs, and one was to say to the other—‘Now, if you will take off your shackles, I will take off mine, but not otherwise.’ If the duties which we impose upon the importation of foreign commodities which are wanted by the consumers of this country are a burden upon the country itself, and the remission or abolition of these duties is a gain—whether it be accompanied or not by any corresponding remission or obligation on the part of other countries—we do it for our own sakes; and so we tell these foreign countries. They don’t very much believe us. They say—making an erroneous use of words, and there is no greater cause of error in reasoning than the misapplication of terms—they say, especially in Germany, if we let in English commodities upon a low duty, and without difficulty, we shall be inundated by British commodities. They think, in their own minds, what an inundation of water is, and that the same evil effects would arise from the admission of European commodities, that would happen from the breaking of one of their great dykes. They totally forget that we are much too sensible to make them a present of what we have been making; that



we only send our commodities abroad as an exchange for an equal value to be received here; and that, therefore, they cannot be inundated with our goods unless they themselves, by their own industry, create an equal value to send to us in return; and that, consequently, every additional commodity which we send abroad is the cause of additional industry, additional capital, and additional employment to their manufactures at home. Well, gentlemen, we have pursued this course. On the one hand we have acted on the principle of reducing duties for our own benefit and our own advantage; and we have held out to other countries the example of our success as an encouragement to them to follow our course. But I remember talking to a very distinguished political economist of a foreign country, and explaining to him how it had succeeded with us. He said—‘Ah! it is all very well. You have got rich by protection, and now you can afford free trade.’ I tried to persuade him that protection had slackened our course of progress—that we were less wealthy than we should have been if protection had been got rid of sooner. He said—No; you have got rich by protection, and now we are poor you want to keep us poor, by asking us to get rid of that shield under cover of which you have amassed the wealth which you now possess.’ Well, gentlemen, all I can say is, that the course which has been pursued for the last five years has been conducted with benefit to the country. We have succeeded in preserving peace, although there were great events arising in different parts of the world, in which we might have been implicated; and exhortations were not wanting. We might have been tempted, plausibly enough, upon good principles and good motives; but we refrained from doing so. We have maintained peace; and I think, in that respect, we have done our duty to the country.”

One more speech from his lordship will conclude this part of our subject. We now quote one, delivered in September, 1864, on the occasion of the fourth annual meeting of the Wilts Rifle Association. After the great meeting of the National Rifle Association, that of the county of Wilts commands the first place amid the local gatherings, both from the number of competitors, and the amount and value of the prizes offered—a result entirely owing to the liberality of the landed proprietors and gentry of the county; for, in addition to local prizes to the value of £390, a further sum of £300 was given for general competition, which attracted, at the time, the large number of 250 candidates. The shooting—which lasted, in consequence of the severity of the competition, nearly a week, in the ancient city of Salisbury—having terminated, the prizes were distributed at Wilton House, where Lady Herbert gave a grand luncheon to her guests, and about 600 of the *élite* of the county. Lord Palmerston then presented the challenge cup to the winner, Sergeant Jeffries, of the 6th Wilts. The noble lord, who met with a most enthusiastic welcome, said—“Gentlemen Volunteers,—I address those who are volunteers, and those who mean to be volunteers. It has afforded me great pleasure to obey the commands of Lady Herbert, in presenting to this good shot and excellent soldier the challenge cup which I have just put into his hands, for this cup embodies that principle which leads to distinction in every career—I mean the principle of honourable emulation. It is not only won by successful emulation, but it must be annually kept by successful emulation; and, without disparagement to the gallant soldier who has so well won it, I may express a hope that next year it may be won by a better shot than he who has now become the holder of this valuable trophy. My noble friend has eloquently and truly dilated on the causes which led to the original establishment of the volunteer system of this country; and I must say that a nobler display of national feeling, of sagacious patriotism, and of persevering courage, was never exhibited by any nation. Its original cause was, as my noble friend stated, temporary; but I trust that its effects will be permanent, and that this institution, so valuable and so important to the best interests of the country, will continue, for all ages to come, to be a great national institution. It is quite true that, some few years ago, circumstances to which it is unnecessary to advert, led the people of this country



to reflect that the ordinary and established means were not sufficient to keep away the dangers which it foresaw might, at all events, be possible. We differ in many things from the great powers of the continent. We live on an island accessible to any invader who might chance to land on our shores at almost every point of our large maritime circumference. We therefore cannot pretend to defend ourselves as continental states may do, which, being accessible in only one avenue of attack, by one valley, or by one pass, may successfully fortify their vulnerable points, and by stationing there a military force, may think themselves secure from invasion until they can collect a large army to resist the invading enemy. We have not thought it possible, and it would be idle and foolish to attempt, to fortify the whole of the extensive shores which begirt these islands. We have done that which is within our means, and which is sufficient for our purpose. We have begun and carried out, to a great extent, those works which are necessary to protect from sudden attack those naval dockyards and arsenals which are the cradles of our maritime power, and the defenders of the best interest of the country; for it is needless for me to point out that, if we lost the command of the seas which surround our shores, and a hostile squadron was allowed to blockade our ports, our commerce, our industry, and our independence would be seriously endangered. This work was begun by the late noble occupant of these estates, who devoted his best energies to commence these operations. His plans have been followed out, and I trust that they will soon be successfully completed. Well, although the defence of England, if she is ever attacked, must be by armies in the field, it is not our habit, it does not suit our constitution nor our interest, to assemble permanently under arms those hundreds of thousands of soldiers who may be found in every country in Europe. We think that it would be an unnecessary pressure upon our resources to keep and maintain such a force in time of peace. We think that it would draw away a valuable portion of the people from the pursuits of industry, and be a drain on the wealth and resources of the country for a time of emergency. We have, however, the militia—an admirable force, well disciplined, ably officered, and animated with the best spirit. We have thus a force of some 112,000 men, ready, if the occasion be required, to take its place in line beside the regular army. Well then, gentlemen, the volunteers of England came forward to make up the deficiency. You came forward with courage, patriotism, and a devotion to the public service beyond all praise, which has excited the admiration of all the world, and which has entitled you to the warmest thanks of the country. I believe that I am not overstating the case when I say that, at the present moment, there are from 150,000 to 160,000 volunteers organised, equipped, trained, and disciplined, with officers who have made themselves acquainted with their duties; and we know that when these corps have assembled in considerable numbers, and joined in the movements which do not belong simply to battalions, but also to divisional operations, they have excited the admiration of military men, and the astonishment of strangers who have visited this country. You know, gentlemen volunteers of England, you well know that numbers alone do not constitute strength; that large assemblies of men, although in uniform and with the best of weapons, are not by their numbers alone competent to meet, with success, an enemy disciplined and trained; and therefore you have, at a great sacrifice of private occupation, at a great devotion of time, which in this country is money—you have made these sacrifices in order to become thoroughly acquainted with the duties of your profession—your honourable profession, for so I will call it. Well, gentlemen, you have, by your perseverance, by your constant attention to your duties, made yourselves masters of all those movements which belong to separate battalions, and also to collections of battalions in brigades and divisions. You have also well thought that it is one thing to meet and another to kill an enemy. To move to meet an enemy without being able to bring him down, is only getting nearer to danger yourselves. There is, however, no fear that those who have so well exhibited

their skill to-day and yesterday, will neglect a practice as necessary almost as your drill, and even your battalion and divisional exercises. The people of this island have in all times been famous as marksmen; and in the days of old, when war was carried on, I will not say with less deadly, but with more clumsy weapons, such as bows and arrows, the British archer was celebrated in every battle-field of Europe in which he was engaged, and his skill was shown from the slaughter which he made of his opponents. Well, gentlemen, that keen eye, that strong arm which so distinguished your ancestors is not wanting to you. This day you have given ample proofs of your skill in the weapon which is placed in your hands. You have proved yourselves worthy descendants of worthy ancestors, equally ready to defend your shores from attack, and, if need be, to vindicate the honour of your country wherever your services may be required. I congratulate you on the assemblage here to-day. I congratulate you, in the first place, on your success, and the interest which the vast crowd I see here—not merely the accumulation of our own sex, but of the beauty of the other sex—takes in that success; and I trust that this interest which your fellow-men and women take in your success, will serve as an additional encouragement to you to persevere."

## CHAPTER XXVI.

### ACCIDENTS AND OFFENCES.

HISTORY is something more than a stately pageant made up of lords and ladies, kings and queens. We know little of the world if we only look at the leading actors on the stage. Out of the elements of human life, pleasure and pain, laughter and tears, are constantly being evoked. The poet Gray, contemplating the light-hearted youth of Eton, in language beautiful, in spite of its familiarity to us all, exclaims—

" These shall the fiery passions tear,  
The vultures of the mind,  
Disdainful anger, pallid fear,  
And shame that skulks behind;  
Or pining love shall waste their youth,  
Or jealousy, with rankling tooth,  
That inly gnaws the secret heart,  
And envy, wan and faded care,  
Grim-visaged, comfortless despair,  
And sorrow's piercing dart."

From these passions are generated crime and love of adventure, and much that is dark and bright in human life.

The year 1852 was distinguished for the terrific character of its casualties. In the beginning of the year, the *Amazon* steamer, on her way to the West Indies from Southampton, was burned in the Bay of Biscay. She had a valuable cargo, fifty passengers, and a crew of 110 officers, engineers, and men. The fire was most rapid and destructive; 102 perished in the flames or by drowning. It is impossible adequately to describe the horror which the news of this appalling catastrophe spread throughout the country. Amongst the passengers who perished was Mr. Eliot Warburton, whose literary talents were of a high class; and who was then on a voyage of benevolence to the Indians who lived on the Isthmus of Darien. The sensation caused by the destruction of the *Amazon* had scarcely subsided, when, in the beginning of April, intelligence was received of the wreck of her majesty's steam troop-ship *Birkenhead*, near the Cape of Good



Hope, with fearful loss of life. She was conveying detachments to reinforce the several regiments serving at the Cape, in consequence of the Kaffir war; and had on board thirteen officers, nine sergeants, and 466 men. Besides these, there were on board twenty women and children, and some officers of the medical staff. The crew consisted of about 130 officers and seamen. Of this total, but 190 were saved. The resolution and coolness of all was remarkable; "far exceeding," wrote Captain Wright, "anything that I thought could be effected by the best discipline. Every one did as he was directed; and there was not a murmur or a cry among them until the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out, as if the men were embarking, instead of going to the bottom; there was only this difference—that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was just about going down, the commander called out, 'All those who can swim, jump overboard, and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped. Not more than three made the attempt. Under this heroic obedience to discipline, the whole mass were engulfed in the waves by the sinking of the ship. Such as were not sucked into the abyss, clung to the masts and yards; some struck out for the shore; others grasped floating spars, and pieces of drift wood: the greater part perished terribly amongst the sharks, very numerous at that neighbourhood; more were swept into the bank of seaweed, entangled and drowned; and about thirty or forty were fortunate to find a passage through the weed, and reached the shore exhausted, naked, and shoeless. Under a burning sun they had to traverse arid sand, thickly planted with prickly shrubs, and destitute of inhabitants, until at length they reached a farm-house, where they received every attention."

Of another kind was the sad fate of Captain Allen Gardiner, and a band of missionaries, who had proceeded to Terra del Fuego, in connection with the Patagonian Missionary Society, in September, 1850. They were known to have landed on the coast, and received some precarious supplies from passing whale ships. But a long period had elapsed, and no tidings had been received of the devoted band. The Admiralty therefore gave directions to Captain Morshead, of the *Dido*, to ascertain their fate. The result was, it was discovered that the entire party had perished of starvation.

In February, 1852, the village of Holmforth was the scene of a deplorable disaster. The gorge in which it is placed is a valley running up into the great central ridge of England, which culminates in the peak, and is close to the point where the counties of Derby, Cheshire, Lancashire, and Yorkshire meet. Further on the gorge opens up several smaller valleys, down which descend rapid streamlets, and which, uniting, form a considerable torrent, which falls first into the Calder, and then into the Ouse. Advantage has been taken of this stream for manufacturing purposes; and the district is a busy and thriving one. As the stream was irregular, the mill-owners of the valley, in 1837, formed extensive reservoirs to retain the feeders in the descent, and to discharge them into the main water-course with a regular supply. Three such were formed, the principal one being the Bilbery reservoir, calculated to intercept the drainage of about 2,000 acres, and to retain a column of water fifty feet in height. For some time, it appears, this reservoir had been getting into a dangerous state. On the afternoon of February 4th, the water rose a foot in each hour; and the attendants became aware that some casualty would occur. The inhabitants of the valley seemed to have treated the affair with supine indifference, and retired to repose. That same night the whole embankment gave way, and the pent-up waters rushed down the valley in one destructive and irresistible mass. Nearly one hundred human beings were drowned; and the damage to property destroyed was estimated at £600,000. In many cases whole families were swept away; one poor old man lost all his children and grandchildren, and attended nine corpses to the grave. By this calamity, 4,986 adults, 2,142 children, earning nearly £4,000 per week, were



instantly rendered destitute. One family, who, the night before, were worth £10,000, were reduced to ask clothes to cover them.

In 1854, the *Arctic* mail steamer, on her way to America—one of the finest of Collins' line—was lost by a collision, and 350 persons perished miserably; and to many a home the terrible news brought grief, and poverty, and tears. In that same year, also, it was felt that it was in vain to search further for Sir John Franklin and his adventurous comrades, who had gone to the north polar region, on a voyage of discovery. Dr. Rae returned, bringing traces of them; and subsequently Captain McClintock brought back relics of the unfortunate men, who, no doubt, were killed by the climate.

Sir John Franklin had left Sheerness in May, 1845, in command of two veteran ice-ships, the *Erebus* and *Terror*, with picked crews of 138 men in all, and with Captain Crozier as his second in command. He had three years' full provision on board, and a transport in attendance with additional stores, which were to be transferred when the ships reached Davis' Straits. His orders were these. He was to proceed with all despatch to Lancaster Sound, and, after passing through it, he was to sail westward, in latitude 70° N., without losing time, or stopping to examine any opening to the westward till he reached Cape Walker—a point on the south side of Barrow Straits, about half-way between the mouth of Lancaster Sound and the mouth of Banks' Straits. He was then to penetrate to the south and westward, and make his way to Behring's Straits by this route. He was warned, indeed, not to try to pass by the direct western route, through Banks' Straits, until it was certain that ice, or some inseparable obstacle, barred the south-westward route against him.

For the bold attempt there was no better man than the experienced Arctic navigator, Sir John Franklin. When his appointment was proposed, Lord Haddington, the then First Lord of the Admiralty, sent for Sir Edward Parry, and said—"I see, by the navy list, that Franklin is sixty years old: do you think we ought to let him go?" Sir Edward answered—"He is a fitter man to go than any I know; and if you don't let him go, the man will die of disappointment."

On the 26th of July, a whaler saw the ships moored to an iceberg on the eastern side of Baffin's Bay, nearly opposite the mouth of Lancaster Sound, waiting for a chance to push through the middle ice. A few days previously, a Mr. Robert Martin had been alongside of the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and had had several conversations with Sir John Franklin and his officers. Sir John said he had provisions for five years; that, if necessary, he would make them last seven; and that, in addition, he had got several casks of salted birds. On the 26th or 28th, two parties of the officers dined with Mr. Martin; and they told him that they fully expected to be out four, five, or even six years. Next day he received an invitation to dine with Sir John; but the wind shifting, he was obliged to proceed on his course. For two days more he saw the ships lessening in the distance: that was the last sight of them. They went on their way, and were never seen by white men more.

In 1847, people began to look out for news of Sir John: it was thought strange that the whalers had seen nothing of him. In 1848, three expeditions were fitted out to search. First, ships were to be despatched to Behring's Straits, to sail eastward, so as to meet the *Erebus* and *Terror* if their efforts had been so far successful as to bring them anywhere near the western end of the passage. Next, boats were to coast along the northern shores of America, from the mouth of the Mackenzie River to Victoria Land, not far from the mouth of Great Fish River, so as to discover if, from any disaster, the crews had been compelled to abandon their ships. Had they done so, it was expected that they would at once make their way south, to some of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts. Lastly, two vessels were sent to follow their track as closely as possible. These, it was hoped, could hardly fail to come across some traces of the wanderers, or to hear some



reports of them from the natives. The first expedition was a complete failure. The *Herald* and the *Plover* found no traces whatever of the lost explorers, and returned to England in 1849.

One little fact shows the feeling which animated the public at this time. A Mr. Sheddon, a mate in the navy, had been invalided, and was dying of consumption. He owned, and sailed himself, a small steam yacht. At his own expense he undertook the search for Sir John Franklin; and meeting Lieutenant Franklin during his boat journey to the Mackenzie River, he assisted him in every possible way. Exhausted by his exertions, this gallant seaman died two months afterwards.

The second expedition was prompter, but not more successful than the first. It was given to Dr. Richardson, Franklin's old and warm friend. He was assisted by Dr. Rae, a man equally experienced in Arctic discovery. Dr. Richardson returned in 1849. Dr. Rae remained a year longer.

The third expedition was commanded by Sir James Ross. It consisted of two ships, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator*, powerful vessels, thoroughly manned and equipped for three years. At Melville Bay Sir James began his search, and examined the coast minutely up to Lancaster Sound; and then proceeded along the Sound and Barrow Straits, making nightly signals, erecting beacons and flagstuffs, and depositing cylinders, with directions to Sir John Franklin to make for Port Leopold, where a dépôt of provisions was to be left; and where the ships were shut out for a year.

On the 15th of May, 1849, Sir James Ross and Lieutenant M'Clintock, with twelve men, set out from the ships to explore North Somerset, the land on the coast of which Port Leopold is an inlet. Up to the 5th of June they plodded south, along the coast, till they reached a bay—Brentford Bay—separated from a corresponding bay, on the other side of North Somerset, in Prince Regent's inlet, by only a narrow neck of land. Sir James was obliged to halt here, though he wished much to go forward till he reached his old discovery, the Magnetic Pole, which lay just before him. Here it is sad to think how close he was on the traces of Sir John; but Sir James, ignorant of this, was obliged to return, which he did not a moment too soon, for he had only one day's provisions left; and his men were all ill, and completely knocked up. In his absence other parties had been sent out from the ships—north, east, and south; but, alas! all in vain. Sir James, on his return to the ships, built a house at Port Leopold, and left in it twelve months' provisions, with the *Investigator's* steam-launch, a vessel large enough to have carried the whole of Sir John Franklin's party to Baffin's Bay. In November, Sir James, disappointed, returned home.

While Ross was on his return down the west side of Baffin's Bay, a ship, the *North Star*, had been sent out with orders and supplies to meet him, and also with instructions to deposit provisions along the south side of Lancaster Sound, and Barrow Straits. She failed in her task, from the extraordinary severity of the season. The *North Star* returned in 1850.

Parliament and the public were still eager and excited on the subject. Lady Franklin had offered, first £2,000, and then £3,000 to the first crew who should bring effective help to her husband and his men. In 1849, the government offered a more substantial inducement in the shape of a bounty of £20,000.

In 1850, the *Enterprise* and *Investigator* were again despatched; Captain M'Clure in command of the latter. Later in the year, no less than ten vessels were collected in Lancaster Sound, to carry on the search from the east. One of them was the *Felix*, with her tender the *Mary*, under Admiral Sir John Ross, who, at the age of seventy-three, though the Admiralty had declined his services, redeemed his promise to Franklin, that if he did not return in 1847, he would go in search of him. Lady Franklin herself had sent a small schooner, the *Prince Albert*, under Captain Forsyth, to examine Prince Regent's Island. Some of them found traces of the explorers. Captain Ommaney, of the *Resolute*, drew some

painful conclusions from his observations—that, since the graves he had discovered were of young men, the crews were not in good health; and the other, that the preserved meats were of bad quality. In the winter of 1851, sledging parties went out to seek for traces of the Franklin party—of course, in vain. Yet, more than once, the ships, with the dead or dying crews, were on the point of being discovered. It is sad to think that some of them might have been alive, and that help and aid were to them so very near.

In 1852, another attempt was made. Undoubtedly, it was no use going over the old ground, which had been thoroughly explored. As Captain Wilks, of the United States' navy, sensibly observed—"Fatal errors have been made in attempting the search in vessels, it being quite evident to the simplest mind, that if ships can track Sir John, he certainly would be enabled to get out. Therefore, it has always appeared to me absurd nonsense, and a waste of time, energy, and money, to help vessels, the scene of whose operations must be limited to the line of the fast ice." Accordingly, in 1852, Captain Austen's plan of using the ships merely as a base of operations, and of searching by means of boats and sledges, was adopted. For this purpose, Sir Edward Belcher sailed, in 1852, with a most powerful and efficient squadron, and fully carried out his instructions. Lady Franklin had also engaged two ships to keep up the search; the *Isabel*, under the command of Captain Inglefield, and the *Albert*, under Captain Kennedy, with whom was the gallant Lieutenant Bellot, of the French navy, as a volunteer. Once, when at the bottom of Peel Sound, and off the western entrance of Bellot Strait, Captain Kennedy looked southward, to see if there were any passage in that direction, down which Franklin might have gone. There was; and there were the remains of Franklin's ships and crews, though Kennedy knew it not.

It was on this voyage that the gallant Bellot lost his life. He had been with his seamen upon a floe of ice, when it separated from the main pack, and was blown away from the shore. The two sailors stayed crouching on the ice, and, after thirty hours' perilous tossing, were rescued; but Bellot had mounted a small hillock of ice, to see where they were, and to find out if anything could be done. A gust of wind hurled him from his slippery seat, and he fell into a fissure in the ice, and appeared no more. It has been justly remarked—"The records of Arctic heroism can show no brighter name than that of Bellot. He was endeared to all his shipmates by every social quality, as well as by his unflinching valour and daring." A subscription was afterwards set on foot in England, with the view of providing for Bellot's family, and erecting a monument to his memory in Greenwich Hospital.

In 1853, Captain McClure returned, after being nearly lost in the ice. He was knighted; and he and his companions were rewarded for what was called the discovery of the north-west passage. He had, however, seen nothing of Sir John Franklin.

The same year, Dr. Kane, in the *Advance*—a ship nobly fitted up by Mr. Grinnell, of New York, who had already aided in the search of Sir John Franklin, actively engaged in by our American friends—left New York, to seek for the lost navigators. "Feeble in health, but great in courage, perseverance, and talent for command, this simple surgeon," writes the author of *Arctic Discovery and Adventure*, "(now with a lieutenant's commission), with a crew of fifteen men, in a little hermaphrodite brig, of 144 tons, equalled any, and surpassed most, of the giants of Arctic travel—the men of iron frames, and with vast appliances at command. His own record of what he did, and what he underwent, is, as it is one of the many beautiful, one of the most wonderful of the many beautiful and wonderful books which the teeming Transatlantic press supplies. Dr. Kane was fervently of opinion that Franklin was far north of any point that had yet been reached, and was imprisoned in a warm polar sea, abounding in fish and game. His proposed method of search was to travel along the land as soon as



his ship had carried him as far north as she could. This search, he believed, would most profitably be made under the lee, as it were, of overhanging Greenland, on its western side; and that, for this purpose, Smith's Sound would be far preferable to any other channel. He further considered that the land, rather than the ice, should be the base of operations; and that the first object should be to travel due north, as fast and as far as possible." When Kane returned, he heard that, not in any mysterious polar sea, but in one of the best-known districts of all that had ever been visited, within a few miles of where expedition after expedition had been prowling, Sir John Franklin's crew had died in heaps, in the agonies of hunger.

Dr. Rae, with instinctive pertinacity, and a sure conviction that he was on the right track, had at length fallen in with some Esquimaux, from whom he learnt what he hastened to England at once to make known. The following is the report to the Admiralty, which he forwarded as soon as he arrived. The letter is dated Repulse Bay, July 29th, 1854:—"Sir, I have the honour to mention, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that during my journey over the ice and snow, with the view of completing the survey of the west shore of Boothia, I met with Esquimaux in Pelly Bay, from one of whom I learned that a party of white men (Kablounans) had perished from a want of food some distance to the westward, and not far beyond a large river containing many falls and rapids. Subsequently, further particulars were received, and a number of articles purchased, which place the fate of a portion, if not of all, of the then survivors of Sir John Franklin's long-lost party beyond a doubt—a fate as terrible as the imagination can conceive.

"The substance of the information obtained at various times, and from various sources, was as follows:—In the spring, four winters past (1850), a party of white men, amounting to about forty, were seen travelling southward over the ice, and dragging a boat with them, by some Esquimaux, who were killing seals near the north shore of King William's Land, which is a large island. None of the party could speak the Esquimaux language intelligibly; but, by signs, the party were made to understand that their ship or ships had been crushed by ice, and that they were now going where they expected to find deer to shoot. From the appearance of the men, all of whom, except one officer, looked thin, they were then supposed to be getting short of provisions, and purchased a small seal from the natives. At a later date of the same season, but previous to the breaking up of the ice, the bodies of some thirty persons were discovered on the continent, and five on an island near it—about a long day's journey to the north-west of a large stream, which can be no other than Back's Great Fish River (named by the Esquimaux Doot-ko-hi-calik), as its description, and that of the low shore in the neighbourhood of Point Ogle and Montreal Island, agree exactly with that of Sir George Back. Some of the bodies had been buried (probably those of the first victims of famine). Some were in a tent or tents; others under the boat, which had been turned over to form a shelter; and several lay scattered about in different directions. Of those found on the island, one was supposed to have been an officer, as he had a telescope strapped over his shoulders, and his double-barrelled gun lay underneath him.

"From the mutilated state of many of the corpses, and the contents of the kettles, it is evident that our wretched countrymen had been driven to the last resource—cannibalism—as a means of prolonging existence.

"There appeared to have been an abundant stock of ammunition, as the powder was emptied in a heap on the ground by the natives, out of the kegs or cases containing it; and a quantity of ball or shot was found below high-water-mark, having probably been left on the ice, close to the beach. There must have been a number of watches, compasses, telescopes, guns (several double-barrelled), &c.; all of which appear to have been broken up, as I saw pieces of those different articles with the Esquimaux, together with some silver spoons and forks. I purchased

as many as I could get. A list of the most important of these I enclose, with a rough sketch of the crests and initials of the forks and spoons. The articles themselves shall be handed over to the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, on my arrival in London.

"I offer no apology for taking the liberty of addressing you, as I do so from the belief that their lordships would be desirous of being put in possession, at as early a date as possible, of any tidings, however meagre and unexpectedly obtained, regarding this painfully interesting subject.

"I may add that, by means of our guns and nets, we obtained an ample supply of provisions last autumn; and my small party passed the winter in snow-houses, in comparative comfort, the skins of the deer shot affording abundant warm clothing and bedding. My spring journey was a failure, in consequence of an accumulation of obstacles, several of which my former experience in Arctic travelling had not taught me to expect."

This was felt to be conclusive, and deep was the regret it occasioned. The government, however, were satisfied, and abandoned all further attempts to clear up the particulars of the terrible catastrophe. Up to Franklin's departure they had spent £336 3s. 7d. in searching for the north-west passage. Since, the government searching expedition had cost the country the enormous sum of £900,000. The conclusion was reluctantly come to, but it was endorsed by the nation at large.

Sir John Franklin—thus believed by all the world, except his devoted wife, who kept on hoping against hope, to be dead—was born at Spilsby, in Lincolnshire, 1786. In 1800, he entered the navy, on board the *Polyphemus*; and served as a midshipman in the action off Copenhagen, 2nd of April, 1801. He sailed with Captain Flinders, in her majesty's sloop *Investigator*, to New Holland, on a voyage of discovery; joining there the sloop *Porpoise*, and was wrecked on a coral reef. In 1805, he was signal-midshipman on board the *Bellerophon*, at the battle of Trafalgar, on the 21st of October. In 1808, he escorted the royal family of Portugal from Lisbon to South America, as lieutenant on board the *Bedford*. In 1814, he served in the expedition against New Orleans, was wounded, and officially recommended for promotion. On the 14th of January, 1818, he was appointed to the brig *Trent*, to accompany the *Dorothea*, Captain Buchan, to Spitzbergen. In April, 1819, he started, in command of the land expedition, to the mouth of the Coppermine; and was appointed to the rank of commander in 1821, and to post-rank in 1822. In 1825, he commanded the expedition to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, in co-operation with Captains Beechy and Parry. From 1830 to 1834, he was in command of her majesty's ship *Rainbow*, on the Mediterranean station; and, in 1835, was appointed governor of Van Diemen's Land. He had surely earned his right to leisure; but his fate, or his energy, or his ambition urged him on, and he died, as he had lived, in the service of his country. The date of his death, from documents discovered by Captain McClintock, who sailed in search of relics in 1857, was the 11th of June, 1847. Sir John had discovered, however, unconsciously, the north-west passage.

Mr. Hall, the commander of the last Arctic expedition, which sailed in 1862, met with some relics of Sir John Franklin's expedition. In a paper published in Canada, it was stated, that "Mr. Hall learned that, a few years since, a party of Innuits (natives) had seen two Codluna (white men's boats); and found, on one of the Lower Savage Islands, which commence near the mainland on the north side of Hudson's Straits, what they termed soft stones. One of the Innuits, who had become possessed of a gun and ammunition from the Hudson's Bay Company, recognised them as bullets. Sir John Franklin, not knowing how long he might be detained in the Arctic seas, carried out a large quantity of ammunition; and Mr. Hall has not a particle of doubt, that the crews of these boats, in their endeavours to get them through Hudson's Straits, and on to Labrador, had thrown out these bullets, so that their progress might not be impeded." If this be so, it is yet maintained that



some of the retreating crews made their way much further south than has been supposed. It is also asked whether it is not possible that some of the crews may be living among the savages in the desolate and unknown wilds to the north of Hudson's Bay, or even in Labrador itself? At any rate, their fate is still enveloped in mystery.

Enough of this sad record of wasted life and treasure. Let us glance at some of the leading criminals of the last few years. By so doing we shall get a better idea of the England of our and Palmerston's time. We begin with an offence fortunately rare. In 1858, the mayor of Sligo, his two deputies, and two poll-clerks, were committed to Sligo gaol for conspiring together, previous to the last election for the borough, to return Mr. Somers by a fictitious majority, produced by corrupt and illegal means. In the same year there were riots at Kilkenny, by labourers, who destroyed reaping machines; and in Bradford, Yorkshire, about twenty persons died, and 200 were more or less injured by eating sweetmeats, in which, by mistake, a quantity of arsenic had been used instead of plaster of Paris.

In 1858, the fashionable world learnt that a banking firm, held in high repute, especially in the religious world, had failed. The bank referred to was that of Strachan and Sir John Dean Paul. Its failure was a great blow to the evangelical party, who felt it the more, as the pious baronet, it seems, had misappropriated money placed in his care; and was tried, and found guilty of an offence which compelled him to pass some years in the retirement of the Portland convict establishment. Next year, by the failure of another bank (the Royal British), more mischief was done, and again the law was compelled to interfere. Some of the directors were sentenced to imprisonment, for terms more or less long, for falsely making it to appear that the bank was in a better position than it really was. As usual, the directors had not forgotten to help themselves to the treasures of the bank; and no one pitied them. The mischief they committed on the community was great. Their shareholders were to be found among all classes and conditions of men. In it the capitalist had speculated, and the widow had confided to its care her all. The operations of creditors were most hostile, and the law's proceedings most ruinous and costly. Under the Winding-up Act, a call was made on the creditors of £75 a share; and, under the bankruptcy, of £50. Thus the frightful sum of £125 per share was claimed, after the poor shareholders had lost what they had already paid on their shares. The way in which this miserable matter was managed reflected great shame on English law.

The mercantile world was, however, at this time, getting used to the scandals which seem, more or less, to attach to all joint-stock associations and limited liability companies. In 1856, it was discovered that a man named Robson, a clerk in the employment of the Crystal Palace Company, had forged shares to the extent of £28,000. He was a gay man of pleasure, fond of theatres and fast life; and wise people shook their heads, and said, "What other end could be expected?" But the gay world had its revenge, when it was found that the benevolent and respectable Redpath had managed, while an official in the secretary's office of the Great Northern Railway Company, to rob them to the extent of £250,000. Both criminals, we need not add, were tried and transported. It is strange that, at one time, Robson and Redpath were fellow-clerks. The former soon died; the latter still survives, waiting once more to be a respectable member of society, though never, perhaps, to be again a Great Northern Railway official.

In 1857, there was a terrible colliery explosion—the Lundhill, near Barnsley—and 189 lives lost. In that year, also, Palmer, a surgeon at Rugby, was hung for poisonings of a most atrocious character.

In 1859, an attempt was made to blow up a house in Sheffield, in which resided a Mr. Linley, in consequence, it is supposed, of his refusing to join the saw-grinders' union. Happily, none of the inmates were injured. In the same year a trial took place, which created almost as much excitement as did that of the

murder of Cooke by the sporting surgeon Palmer, or the case of the Mannings. In August, Dr. Smethurst, of Richmond, after a lengthened trial, was found guilty of the murder, by poisoning, of Miss Isabella Banks, a lady of property he had persuaded to live with him, though aware that he was a married man. On the 12th of November he was committed for bigamy, a free pardon being given him in respect of the capital offence. Public opinion felt that Dr. Smethurst had reason to be grateful for the view of the matter taken by the law-officers of the crown.

In 1860, George Pullinger, cashier of the Union Bank of London, was arrested on a charge of embezzlement. He had appropriated to his own use, chiefly for betting and time-bargains on the Stock Exchange, about £263,000. He was subsequently tried and convicted, and sentenced to penal servitude for twenty years.

In the same year, all England was startled by the commission of a very atrocious crime. There was a sub-inspector (of the name of Kent) of factories, living in Road, Somersetshire. He had been twice married, and had had children by each wife. The youngest was a little boy. Early one summer morning the little fellow was missed from his cot in his nurse's room; and, after an hour's search, his body was found stuffed down the seat of a privy on the premises, with his throat cut from ear to ear. Several judicial inquiries were made into the subject; but the murderer was never discovered, notwithstanding the efficacy of what the papers termed a vigilant and effective police. Many years after the murderer confessed the crime. The little boy had been made away with by his step-sister, Miss Constance Kent, who was tried, and acquitted on the plea of insanity.

A singular law-suit in 1860, illustrated, in a remarkable manner, the depths of human credulity. For some years past the public had been scandalised and amused by the proceedings of certain persons residing at a mansion near Bridgewater. At this mansion resided a James Henry Prince, educated at Lampeter College, Wales, and ordained deacon and priest. In 1834, after having been visited with ecclesiastical censures, he repaired to Brighton, and there opened a chapel of his own, which he called Cave Adullam. Thither he was followed by four ladies of the name of Nottidge, each of whom had a fortune of between £4,000 and £5,000. With their money, and that of other dupes, he erected the Agapemone, near Bridgewater, and where practices of the most questionable, and pretensions of the most extraordinary character, appeared. According to Brother Prince himself, a fresh religious epoch had opened on the world. We were to live under a new dispensation, which, if it did not contradict, was at least to supersede the forms of belief in which we had all been trained. The key-stone of the new system was this:—Various covenants have, at different times, been offered to man by his Creator. At first, Adam was the divine witness; then the patriarchs, as Noah and Abraham; then a far greater one than these. But each dispensation was closed whenever any one was found perfect under it. Now, in Brother Prince was found perfection under the Christian dispensation; and, consequently, a new religious epoch commenced, with this man as its witness. All these Nottidges were completely under Prince's power. In July, 1858, the eldest of them, Louisa Jane, died intestate, and a bill in chancery was immediately filed by her brother, for the purpose of forcing Prince to disgorge his unholy spoils. The judgment of Vice-Chancellor Stuart satisfied the public. He said, the bill alleged that the gift had been obtained by misrepresentation and deception, and was made under the influence of a gross delusion, inculcated and encouraged by the defendant for his own purposes. A gift made under the influence of delusion and deception, whether relating to matters spiritual or matters temporal, cannot be valid. Of the undue dominion of the defendant over the mind of Miss Nottidge there was ample evidence—instancing, that this man, by falsely and blasphemously pretending that he had a direct divine mission, had imposed on these weak women, and obtained a gift of the whole of their fortunes. As to Miss Louisa Jane Nottidge the case was very clear. She had, fortunately, escaped the degradation of such a marriage as had been made the means of conveying all the money of her sisters into the



pocket of the defendant; but the defendant's own statements showed that he had obtained this gift of all her property by imposing a belief upon her weak mind that he sustained a supernatural character. This successful imposture was the influencing motive for the gift; and, therefore, vitiated it entirely. The Vice-Chancellor concluded by decreeing that the transfer had been improperly obtained, and must be set aside.

Another case of fraud, connected with a bank, occurred in February, 1861. The Commercial Bank of London, whose principal office was in Lothbury, had a branch office in Henrietta Street, Covent Garden. In the accidental absence of the ledger clerk, John Durden, it was discovered that he had long been engaged in extensive frauds upon his employers. The duties of this man, who had been in the company's service about ten years, were purely clerical. He had nothing to do with the receipt or payment of money; his sole duty was to enter in a ledger, lettered D to H, an account of all sums received or paid on account of the customers whose names commenced with that series of letters; and to keep, also, their pass-books. Durden procured a confederate in the person of one Holcroft, an insolvent boot-maker, whom he put into a nominal business, and instructed to open an account at the Commercial Bank. As this man's name commenced with H, his ledger account and the corresponding pass-book was in Durden's charge. When a sum of money was paid in to the account of some customer of the bank, whose name also commenced with H, Durden made a double entry in his ledger; that is, he credited the real customer with the amount, and also entered it to the credit of Holcroft. Of course, Durden never took a holiday, or the fraud would have been discovered. However, he was taken ill; suspicions were aroused, and it was found that he had thus robbed the bank of no less than £66,992. Durden was sentenced to fourteen years' penal servitude, and the Commercial was amalgamated with the Westminster.

In 1861, a dreadful famine prevailed in the north-west provinces of India. There had been no rain; and throughout a vast extent of territory—of 25,000,000 square miles, with 11,000,000 of inhabitants—the lower class perished of famine: 300,000 persons thus died. Parents slew their children to avoid protracted death, or sale to strangers; mothers sold their infants for a shilling, to protract existence for a single day; and, in some districts, the caste of the purchasers was disregarded. Committees were formed in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and other cities; and the most generous contributions raised. In London a meeting was convened by the Lord Mayor, on the 28th of March; and, on the 3rd of April, they were able to remit to Bombay £20,000. From England, it appeared, altogether, that the noble sum of £107,585 had been sent. It was no easy task to organise a proper mode of distribution of the sums raised; however, this was done in the most successful manner, under the guidance of the late Colonel Baird Smith, who fell a victim, unfortunately, to his own humane exertions.

The failure of the Bank of Deposit, in 1861, revealed one of the worst and most sad cases of villany ever announced to the London public. The object of this association was stated—1. Mutual life assurance. 2. Investment of money by depositors for accumulation, or on interest. 3. For granting loans. For these purposes the society's funds were to be divided into three classes—the mutual investment fund, the mutual assurance fund, and the general fund. There was also a nominal Board of Directors, comprising some aristocratic or popular names; but the concern was really in the hands of Mr. Peter Morrison. The capital stock of the association figured, at the head of its printed documents, as £100,000; but even in the figures of the account-books, the capital stock never exceeded £20,050 10s.; and of this, only £8,593 10s. was contributed in cash: £7,100 represented expenses paid in getting up the scheme; and £4,357 was a mere juggling of figures, the sums being entered in the ledgers as loans to the subscribers, and then appearing in the capital account as subscriptions paid. Much of this sham capital was got rid of in the same ingenious manner: amounts



of capital stock were marked as repurchased or cancelled; and the sums were written off the ledgers as paid. Starting with this audacious fraud, Mr. Peter Morrison seems to have gone on gaily for seventeen years. Large numbers of a class of persons who are able to save small sums, attracted by the bait of high interest, bonuses, &c., invested their little fortunes in one or other of the three funds just described; and, under one pretext or another, were induced to sign the papers which made them members. When the scheme collapsed, the cause was not far to seek. "We do not find," say the accountants, "that any profits have at any time arisen from the business which has been carried on. In every year, the total amount allowed for interest on deposits, has exceeded the amounts charged to borrowers." Money appears to have been lent on the most worthless security. What the managing director secured for himself no one ever knew, as he suddenly disappeared; and with him was lost the only guide through the labyrinth of confused and deficient accounts.

In 1865, people got used to this state of things. The story had grown to be very old, of immense frauds and rascalities contrived by the roguery of a manager, and the culpable carelessness of directors; and actually, in 1867, the law vindicated itself by the imprisonment of the director of a joint-stock association for five years, who was not contented with selling his business to a company for £25,000, and receiving from them the insignificant salary of £3,000 a year; but must needs help himself to the money of the company as well, to meet the deficiencies consequent on his own numerous speculations.

The truth is, we require more stringent legislation on this subject than we have ever yet had. A serious commercial crisis has shown how utterly futile is the trust reposed by shareholders in officials, and parliament will not permit the subject to rest without ample and searching debate. It is true that the question, "What are the duties of a director?" might, at first sight, appear easy to answer; but events have shown that the problem is beset with a host of embarrassing considerations. Theory would say that he should direct, control, supervise; practice has too often said that he may undertake such functions, and yet evade their fulfilment. Promise declares that the office is accepted as a sacred trust, to be exercised with conscientious vigilance; performance often defines it to be a mere blind and make-believe, or a partnership in a game of speculation, dealing with the fortunes of the few and the pittance of the many as so many counters, to be tossed from hand to hand like the playthings of an hour. But, however difficult it may be to determine what the precise obligations are, an honourable man has no difficulty whatever in saying what they are *not*. A director should not undertake a task which he is too busy or too indolent to perform; he should not go through it in a perfunctory and negligent manner; he should not make his supervision a pretext and not a reality; nor should he permit things to be done with the corporate property entrusted to his charge, which he would shrink from allowing in the case of his own. It is not his duty to sign documents of whose meaning and purpose he is kept in the dark; or to sanction reckless gambling, when he has been elected to promote legitimate trade; or to go hand-in-hand with pliable and unprincipled colleagues through a long series of collusive deceptions. He has been appointed for another purpose than merely to sign cheques and initial minutes—to pay a few formal visits to the board-room, ask unimportant questions, and put up with any replies—to draw with exemplary punctuality his fees for attendance, and present himself to the public as a man who directs that which he knows to be, mainly through his own default, far beyond his control. In short, he should not be a pretender, or engage to perform a task beyond his will or his ability; nor, when he has failed to do what he promised, should he prolong a deception that he himself is the best qualified to expose. He is bound not to deceive those towards whom he stands in the position of a trustee, and not to impose on the outer world, with which his representative functions bring him into close and constant relation.



But, says the writer of an article in the *Daily Telegraph*, when, instead of negative inferences, we come to positive prescriptions, we find it much less easy to prescribe duties than to enumerate prohibitions. The first difficulty is with the individual himself, whom, on examination, we ascertain to be one kind of person in his private capacity, and another in the board-room. An invincible laxity, not of morals, but of habit, affects almost all commercial men on this subject. An individual who, in managing his own business, would not commit misdeeds himself, and who would look sharply after the acts of his servants, throws both his strictness and his vigilance aside so soon as his fellow-men depute him to manage their affairs in conjunction with his own. Human nature is sometimes a riddle; otherwise one might suppose that a combination of personal motives would strengthen a man's interest in a subject, instead of weakening it. A person who has accepted a position which places the fortunes of hundreds at his disposal, is bound by peculiar and almost sacred considerations to fulfil his duty with the most scrupulous care. His appointment as a delegate, while it is a compliment to his integrity, is a mute appeal to his honour; and if the office conveys distinction, it also involves corresponding responsibility. He is a trustee for others as well as for himself; and, far from inducing remissness, this should stimulate him to more vigilant effort. Practically that is not the case. In too many instances the modern director does not direct at all; but, deputing that work to another, confines himself to accepting the emoluments and the honour, while he systematically neglects the correlative duties. He is expected, and is appointed, to scrutinise every business transaction; to see that it is recommended by ordinary considerations of prudence and safety, such as would influence him in any of his private affairs; to watch that every enterprise undertaken or speculation fostered is permissible, not merely by the rules of the particular institution which he manages, but by the higher principles of commercial morality; to extend as vigilant a supervision to minor details of finance, of correspondence, and of personal character, as he exercises over his own business. If, doing none of these things, and leaving the duty to others, he accept one-sided statements as a substitute for close personal inspection, he, wilfully or not, glaringly neglects his trust, and is morally answerable for the consequences. But, in truth, the active duties of a director extend much beyond the points we have named. Those that can be defined, though often systematically neglected, are neither his only nor his most important functions. There are others, vague rather than avowed—understood, though not stipulated—which he is bound to exercise. His vigilance should extend beyond the board-room, and should involve a surveillance, more or less minute, over even the private concerns of those whom he permits to control the property entrusted to his own guardianship. In one word, he ought to exercise as watchful a care as he is accustomed to do in the case of his own servants and assistants. Many of the most flagrant scandals which the financial world has witnessed, might have been avoided had directors practised their duties after leaving the council-table. We do not want the eminently respectable city man to turn spy over the actions and habits of his underlings; all we desire is, that he should not wilfully shut his eyes to what every one else sees, marvels at, and draws his own conclusions from. In modern society, a good deal that is objectionable is winked at; but there are limits to the indifference even of the most well-bred people. When, for instance, an individual, whose utmost income is perfectly well known to be £500 a year, lives at the rate of £5,000, society has a prescriptive right to infer that there must be something wrong. Or if a gentleman, enjoying the handsome salary of £3,000 per annum, spends at the rate of £20,000, it does not require a severe exercise of the logical faculty, on the part of his employers, to argue that his business doings should be carefully watched. If such principles had been carried out in certain recent and notorious cases, infinite loss and suffering would have been spared to the innocent, and the guilty would have been arrested at the outset of their career. For the want of a little



moral courage, ruin has been brought to hundreds, and manhood has sunk to the dust, crushed by the curse pronounced on him who robs the widow and the fatherless.

In 1861, the Baron de Vidil, a French nobleman, was riding with his son, when a murderous attack was made upon the latter by the former. At the trial the son refused to give evidence against the father, and, for this contempt of court, was imprisoned for one month. For the assault the father was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, with hard labour. In July, in the same year, about mid-day, in Northumberland Street, Charing Cross, a money-lender, named Roberts, was killed in self-defence, by a Major Murray, whose life he had attempted to destroy.

In January, 1862, a most distressing casualty occurred. On the 16th of that month, 204 men and boys lost their lives by suffocation in New Hartley colliery, near Newcastle, in consequence of the breaking of the beam which overhung the shaft, and which formed part of the pumping machinery. Universal sympathy was excited for the bereaved relatives of the miners, and upwards of £70,000 was raised in a few weeks for their relief.

In the same year the metropolis was alarmed by the extension, in the dark days before Christmas, of the detestable practice of garrotting. For several years there had been occasional instances of garrotte robbery—a method of highway plunder, which consists in one ruffian seizing an unsuspecting traveller by the neck, and crushing-in his throat, while another simultaneously rifles his pockets. The scoundrels then decamp, leaving their victim on the ground, writhing in agony, with tongue protruding, and eyes starting from their sockets, unable to give an alarm or to attempt pursuit. Bold with impunity, these savages committed their crimes in the most public places, and often in the light of day. To this singular audacity they added a wantonness of cruelty which excited the utmost terror. Frequently, when the garrotter had throttled his victim into unconsciousness, the confederate struck the poor man crushing blows with his life-preserver; and, after robbing him without a struggle, left him, bleeding and mangled, on the pavement, disfigured and, perhaps, injured for life. In other instances, after completing the rifling, says a writer in the *Annual Register*, they hurled him to the ground, and then kicked him on the head until his skull was fractured and his features defaced. These cruel acts were committed in such places as Lincoln's Inn Fields, Brunswick Square, Blackman Street, Long Acre, Bloomsbury Street, Pall-Mall, Cockspur Street, and other of the most frequented public thoroughfares of the metropolis. These dreadful outrages spread terror over all the millions that inhabit London. The crime was so frequent, and the consequences so serious, that each individual felt personal alarm. Many of these ruffians were tried before Baron Bramwell, at the Central Criminal Court, in November; and, as many of them were ticket-of-leave men, he had little hesitation in inflicting on them severe and unexpected sentences. The baron, who earned the gratitude of the public for his conduct during the trials, gave a short sketch of the career of each as he awarded his punishment. The sentences were all such as would be felt by their confederates—penal servitude for life, for twenty, for ten, or fifteen years. In all, about twenty-nine of the most dangerous ruffians that had held London in subjection, were brought to justice at these sessions. The effect was immediate: either all the outrages which had alarmed the public had been perpetrated by a small number of individuals, or the convictions of those memorable sessions had struck their companions in crime with terror; for, though a few daring outrages of the same kind were perpetrated during the winter, the reign of terror was at an end, and the inhabitants of the metropolis once more traversed their streets without starting at every footstep, or turning pale at their own shadow.

In the same year an immense sensation was produced, in fashionable and political circles, by the trial of William Roupell, late M.P. for Lambeth, for forging a will and other deeds, purporting to be executed by his father. For a time Mr. Roupell had held a high position in society, and been considered a man



of great wealth, advanced political views, and of high character. The illegitimate son of Richard Palmer Roupell, a man of large property, by a woman whom he married only after he had lived with her a great number of years, William Roupell had acted as sole executor of a will, produced and duly proven in Doctors' Commons. Under this authority, having unbounded influence over his mother, he disposed of the various estates of his late father, and mysteriously squandered the proceeds, stated to have amounted to something near £300,000, in the course of about five years, for part of which time he represented Lambeth in parliament. On his younger and legitimate brother coming of age, he proceeded to recover possession of the estates wrongfully disposed of by his brother William; and the case of Roupell and others *v.* Waite was tried at Guildford, the plaintiffs calling, as their chief witness, William Roupell, who then and there accused himself of forging the will under which he had been acting. He also confessed to an extraordinary series of forgery of title-deeds, effected by him during his father's lifetime, under which he had sold various portions of the Roupell Park estate. Ordered into custody at Guildford, he was brought to trial at the Central Criminal Court, and sentenced to transportation for life, after he had given a summary of his career, and traced his first step in crime to his desire to repay money borrowed from a friend to purchase books. He professed the utmost contrition for his acts, and declared his preference for punishment rather than freedom, with continuous remorse—a theory by no means universally received as a satisfactory reason for his surrender.

A good deal of doggerel was written on the occasion. In *Fun*, a poet (?) improvised the event in the following manner:—

“To Westminster a member came,  
Of the Liberals a supporter;  
And he was returned to Westminster,  
From the other side of the water.  
His father, Dob said, had melted lead  
Somewhere down and about that quarter;  
But the gentlefolks all, they took off their hats  
To the Croesus from over the water.  
With a do, &c.

“Now the Lambeth folks this wealthy gent,  
As their member, did decide on,  
'Cos they thought he'd set fire to the river Thames,  
What the penny steamers ride on;  
But little they knew he'd happened to do  
Some things that he did'n't oughter;  
For he'd forged a will and several deeds,  
Had this member from over the water.  
With a do, &c.”

The writer ends—

“And the public said, ‘Well, this here Roupell  
Has got no more than he oughter;’  
So there was an end of the wealthy gent  
As was member for over the water.”

On January 9th, 1863, four men, named Buncher, Burnett, Williams, and Griffiths, were charged, at the Central Criminal Court, with committing forgeries, to a large amount, on the Bank of England, chiefly by means of paper expressly manufactured for the bank, which they had contrived to steal.

One November evening, this year, a woman and two little girls were found dead in a cab, on arriving at the Royal Oak, Westbourne Grove. The cab had been hired at the Shoreditch railway station, by a man who had accompanied them as far as Furnival's Inn, Holborn, where he alighted, and paid the cabman, having, during the journey, caused the latter to stop, and get a pint of porter, in Bishopsgate Street. It was subsequently ascertained that they were the wife and

children of a man named Hunt, living at Camberwell, who had ridden with them in the cab, and that they had been poisoned with prussic acid. Hunt, on being arrested, swallowed aconite, and died.

In the same year decent people were disgusted with another of those exhibitions known as prize-fights, the enthusiasm of which had been vastly stimulated by what took place in 1860, when Heenan, the American pugilist, and Tom Sayers, the champion of England, had met and fought in this country. The event had raised Tom Sayers to the very pinnacle of fame. He had become the hero of the Stock Exchange; of the House of Commons; of all fast people whatever, for his endurance of punishment, and Anglo-Saxon pluck. Leading articles in leading journals appeared in his favour, and his not very intellectual countenance was as familiar to the public as that of the Bishop of Oxford, or Mr. Spurgeon. In 1863, again Heenan appeared upon the scene, to contend, not with his old antagonist, but with, in sporting circles, the far-famed King. Heenan had better have staid in America. He had won some fame by his encounter with Sayers, but he forfeited it all by his set-to with King. It now seemed that he was totally incapable of coping with a man of average capacity in his sanguinary calling. It is difficult to describe how thoroughly popular anticipation was disappointed by the result. The soundest judgment and the coolest calculations had settled beforehand that the American could not fail to win. Not only were the advantages in betting wholly upon his side, but even the friends of his antagonist acknowledged, by their acts, if not in words, a sense of inferiority.

Not many years ago the Unity Bank was started in the city of London, with a great London alderman at its head. Its prospectus, like "hope, told a flattering tale." It was to offer a boon to the public, and it was to be a source of profit to the shareholders: so said the directors—and the directors were all honourable men! After a little time unpleasant remarks began to be made about the bank. It was intimated that the affair was not going on well; unpleasant questions were asked at the bank's meetings, and insinuations were thrown out occasionally against the directors—which, of course, the latter resented in the usual off-handed official manner. At length the evil day came; no equivocation, no cooking of accounts, no *suppressio veri* would then avail. It was resolved to wind up the far-named Unity Bank, to save what could be saved for the deluded shareholders, and to let the whole wretched business be terminated in the most satisfactory manner possible. From a report published at a public meeting, we learn a little as to the disgraceful way in which this bank had been carried on. From the first to the last it appears to have been a very dishonest affair. In the first place the directors appear to have appropriated to themselves £2,987 7s. illegally. The directors, after taking care of number one, seem not to have been unmindful of their friends, and, in their zeal to oblige them, to have rather overshot the line which separates right from wrong. Thus, from one of the favourites of the bank, who had succeeded in getting £2,000, the liquidators obtained, after the application of pressure, £1,000; and from another, to whom £4,500 had been advanced, 4s. in the pound. As to the securities which the directors had kindly taken, they seem to have been of the most extraordinary character. On £400 worth of the debentures in the Consols Insurance Company, £1,475 had been advanced. The Catholic Bookselling Company had obtained £1,696 13s. 5d.; and, besides, had dragged the bank into a law-suit which had cost it £150. Then some mining shares had been deposited as security for a loan, which turned out to be of no value. They actually found that they had got stolen warrants in their possession—warrants deposited by a convicted felon, who got £137 10s. for them. They might possibly get £20 for them from the rightful owner. Then, again, they found the securities of the Patent Seamless Leather Company, the Patent Smokeless Chimney Company, and the Patent Fibre Company; £2,600 had been advanced on these, and they might get £40 on a reversion from the party to whom the advance was made. The bank had jewellery transactions—a lady's bracelet,



ring, and watch; and they who deposited them obtained £2,644; and although the liquidators sold these things in the best market, they only got £80. The directors were also general merchants. They had some glass, for which they got £4 18s., but upon which had been advanced £375 19s. 8d. They had some tea and coffee. The liquidators got samples of it; but if they had taken it it would have poisoned them. They sold it for £24; but £200 had been advanced. There were 125 tons of guano. The liquidators thought that they had found corn in Egypt; but, alas! it proved to be sad rubbish. They went to the party who pledged it, and he said it was worthless. After trying to sell it to the guano merchants, they eventually disposed of it for £80; £1,700 had been advanced upon it. £640 was advanced on wine warrants; and they thought, as there were a great many wine-bibbers, they would be able to sell them; but, unfortunately, the wine had turned to vinegar, very little sherry being left. It was sold for £100, there being a loss on the transaction of £540. The party who pledged the warrants had obtained possession of some of them under the pretence of getting samples; sold them, and pocketed the money. The manager of the bank, on being asked about the matter, said he had forgotten it. Out of £20,000 of securities of this description, £1,200 had been realised—about 1s. in the pound. Nor is this all. At the meeting referred to, Dr. Cooke, the chairman, stated that he held in his hands £90,000 of overdue, bad, and dishonoured bills, showing a great want of commercial knowledge among the directors. This is a mild way of putting it. These directors were supposed to be honourable and conscientious men. On the faith of their representations, people who had saved a little money—people who had a little money, such as widows and spinsters—people who wanted to make a little money in a legitimate way—became shareholders in the concern. By its shipwreck, some of these, perhaps, may have been brought down to a state of hopeless poverty, and find themselves, in the evening of their days, compelled to fight the battle of life over again. It is such as these who suffer; and it is on their behalf that we indignantly note the proceedings of this wretched bubble. Legitimate banking associations are all right and proper; but such banks as the late Unity are very little better than ruinous associations, however they may have been puffed up in their day, or however respectable may have been their Board of Directors. The truth is, public opinion cannot exercise too severe a surveillance over such associations; their shareholders cannot look too narrowly after the directors. The odds are all in favour of the bank against the shareholders. The chief cause of all these disasters, perhaps, may be found in the very nature of their constitution. A public company has no conscience. As a director, a man may wink at what he would indignantly denounce in private life.

A violent gunpowder explosion took place on January 18th, 1864, in the evening, on board the *Lottie Leigh*, lying in the Mersey. There was a fire on board, and the consequence was, that eleven tons of gunpowder, which was part of her cargo, exploded. The effects on Liverpool and Birkenhead were terrific: the gas in the streets and shops was extinguished; windows were blown in; but, fortunately, there was no loss of life.

In Sheffield, in March, a more terrible calamity occurred. Exactly at midnight an overwhelming flood swept down from an enormous reservoir at Bradfield, carrying away houses, mills, bridges, and manufactories; destroying property estimated at half a million sterling, and causing the loss of about 240 human lives.

The Bradfield reservoir, which burst its banks, is situated rather more than a mile to the west of Bradfield, and about eight miles from Sheffield. It is the property of the Sheffield Water-works Company, and was one of a series of reservoirs from which the company intended to supply the increasing wants of the town. It was formed by throwing an embankment across the gorge intercepting the moorland stream, which gradually filled up the whole of the valley to nearly the level of the top of the embankment. The first sod was turned on New Year's-day, 1859. The reservoir was intended to supply the compensation water which the



company was bound to supply to the mill-owners on the Loxley, and the surplus would have been available to meet the requirements of the town of Sheffield. Its capacity was so vast as to hold the drainage from a gathering of not less than 4,300 acres; the reservoir covered seventy-six acres. From the dam-head to the embankment the sheet of water spread out more than a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in width. In the centre the depth was between eighty and ninety feet; and the reservoir would contain 114,000,000 cubic feet of water, or 691,000,000 gallons. It was nearly completed, but had never been used for the supply of water to the town of Sheffield. The embankment, at its base, was 500 feet wide, 100 feet high, and twelve feet wide at the summit. In order to secure a perfectly sound foundation, an excavation was made to the depth of sixty feet. This vast work stretched itself across the valley for the space of 400 yards. In the embankment there were about 400,000 cubic yards of material. The weir that was provided to carry off the overflow was sixty feet wide, and it conducted the water down a stone channel into the Loxley. The 11th of March was a very stormy day. The company's engineer examined the works, and left, as he thought, all safe about four o'clock. At half-past five, a workman, in crossing, noticed a crack in the side of the embankment, about wide enough to admit a penknife, extending along the side some twelve feet from the top, for a distance of nearly fifty yards. He told another workman of it, who told a farmer, who told one of the company's overlookers. About seven in the evening, perhaps a couple of dozen persons had met to examine the crack with lanterns. All said there was no immediate danger, but thought it as well to send to Sheffield for the company's engineer to return as speedily as possible; those remaining there opening the pipes, and doing the best they could under the circumstances. At nine, most of those who had gone to examine the crack returned home, on the assurance of the workmen and contractors that there was no danger. About ten the messenger came back from Sheffield with Mr. Gunson, the engineer, and Mr. Craven, the contractor. They see the crack, which is wide enough to admit a man's hand, but still they do not apprehend danger. Mr. Fountain says to Mr. Gunson, "If we do not relieve the dam of water, there will be a blow-up in half-an-hour." Thereupon, as a measure of precaution, Mr. Gunson decides to diminish the pressure of water by blowing up the weir with gunpowder. Preparations are made; but, for some reason or other, the powder does not ignite. Before making another attempt, Mr. Gunson and Mr. Swinden go back with lanterns to the crack, to see if it shows any symptoms of enlargement. They try to measure from the top of the embankment to the crack, to ascertain if it is above or below the surface of water in the reservoir. Mr. Gunson stoops with a lantern to examine. All seems to be about as before; but when they get to the end of the crack, Mr. Gunson raises his head, and just as he does so he sees that the water is foaming like a white sheet over the embankment. It comes down to Mr. Gunson's feet, and drops down the crack. Mr. Gunson thinks there may be time enough to examine the valve-house, to see what quantity of water is escaping; and, to get there, he creeps down the slope of the embankment as cautiously as possible. Mr. Swinden sees that this is impossible, and calls upon Mr. Gunson to come back. The latter, as he does so, casts his eyes upwards, and sees an opening about thirty feet wide at the top of the embankment, and the water rushing out in an immense stream. The catastrophe is now inevitable. Mr. Gunson exclaims to his companion, "It is all up; the embankment is going!" They rush across for their lives. In a moment the water is on their track, the chasm extends, the centre of the embankment sinks, and the pent-up flood of 114,000,000 of cubic feet of water rolls like an avalanche down the valley, with a noise like thunder, and sweeps before it houses, mills, men, cattle, trees, and rocks. Terrible are the scenes, graphically described. Onward poured the flood, until Sheffield was reached. It passed on like a great wave. In a quarter of an hour it turned what had been happy homes, smiling gardens, busy mills, into a waste, howling wilderness. Mr. Rawlinson, the government inspector,



states, that "the objectionable mode of laying the outlet pipes most probably fractured the puddle-wall. At the point of crossing, the loose state of the material at the top of the bank lets in the water as it rises in the reservoir. This water has, most probably, forced its way down the face of the puddle to the fracture in the puddle-wall above the outlet pipes, and hence the destruction, so swift and terrible in its effects"—thus confirming the finding of the jury, that "there has not been that engineering skill and attention, in the construction of the works, which their magnitude and importance demanded." Thus, for the future, this terrible tragedy may lead to more care in the execution of such important works. Another lesson to be learnt from it is the ready character of English charity. In about two months, the noble sum of £50,000 was raised. As to the shareholders—who, before the flood, could reckon their £100 paid-up shares as worth £146; which shares dropped to £40—counsel's opinion was taken; and it was to the effect that the Water Company was liable to make compensation for all the damage occasioned by the flood; and that while the property of the company might be taken in satisfaction as far as it would go, the private property of the individual shareholders could not be touched. Such is the story of the Sheffield flood.

Many of the particulars of this tragedy were of the most distressing character. In the town of Sheffield itself, the destruction of property was almost greater than in the valley; but there, fortunately, it was attended with comparatively little loss of life. The *Sheffield Telegraph* stated—"In the town the first alarm was given at about a quarter-past twelve. The sharp hiss as of escaping steam, the sound as of a mighty rush of water, made people run towards the river, when it was found that the Don was in an extraordinary flood, and that some dreadful calamity had occurred. At two o'clock the height and force of the current had greatly abated. There was still a great volume of water, and the roar with which it rushed along was like that of an express train in a cutting. On Lady's Bridge a great number of people were standing, looking over the parapets on the fearful heaps of timber mixed with straw and other *débris*, which the flood had piled up against the mason-work of the bridge. The immense quantity of rafters, flooring, joists, planks, and miscellaneous articles, heaped to within a few feet of the top of the bridge, told a portentous story of the buildings destroyed; and melancholy were the forebodings of those who looked upon the ruin. There seemed wood enough to build a village. But, bad as were the fears of those who looked upon the evidences of disaster, none knew how dreadful was the reality; and the majority had not the most distant idea of the loss of life that had occurred. At the police-station was a little crowd of poor ill-dressed people who had been flooded out of their dwellings, and who were glad to spend the night crouching round the fire; and in the streets were several people moving about hastily with torches, which they had improvised. But as yet, beyond the sight of wet people and wet streets, and beyond the roar of the river, and those ominous, but as yet unexplained, heaps of timber about the bridge, there was nothing known among the crowd of the loss of life; and the spectators fondly hoped that the mass of wood might prove to be nothing but the contractor's plant, increased by rubbish from off the banks of the river.

"In the darkness, one could only guess, from the fearful rumours that came from the lower part of the town, what the scene there would be at daylight. The morning of Saturday fully realised the worst fears of the night. The wooden bridge at Hillfoot had disappeared—completely carried away by the first rush of water, and with a noise that startled the sleepers around, who sprang from their beds with alarm. The view from their windows did not tend to reassure them, for the flood was all around, boiling and seething along, filling the houses, rushing up the stairs, floating the beds and furniture. The scenes and cries for help are described as heartrending. Just below the bridge, by the weir, stood a small house, occupied by James Sharman and his wife, who attended to the shuttle of the goit



that supplies Messrs. Butcher's works at Philadelphia. Against this house the full force of the current broke. The inmates were Sharman, his wife, and a daughter-in-law, with several children. The watchmen aroused them when the water began to rise, and they hastily left their dwelling. Scarcely had they been out of the house a minute when the current carried it away, and now not a vestige of the place remains except the foundation. The bridge over the goit went along with the house. At Philadelphia corn-mill, which stands close to the water's edge, a number of horses were drowned in their stables, pigs in their sties, and fowls on their roost. We have not heard that any life was lost at this point. Crossing to Bacon Island, a low-lying piece of ground between the goit and the river, the only access to which is now the narrow plank of the shuttle-frame, we came at once into what had evidently been the very heart of the flood in this part of the valley. Gardens were covered deep in slime. Trees, edges, and walls were levelled with the ground. A man and his wife, named Wright, lived in a block of houses here, with their child, and another child that was staying with them. On Friday, Wright went to a funeral, and the neighbours did not know whether he had returned: but both he and his wife and one child are missing. One little thing was found in its bed after the water had sufficiently subsided to enable men to get about; but the other members of the household, perhaps aroused and attempting to escape, had been carried away. In the block of houses, forming an irregular square, of which Wright's formed a part, every one is damaged to a greater or less extent. The flood rose to the chambers, and floated the inmates in their beds. The lower apartments are filled with broken furniture and mud. The doors and windows are broken in by the flood, and by the trees and wood that it carried along with it. Of course, all the houses and works along the river-side have been flooded, and damage to a fearful extent has been done. In Messrs. Butcher's works at Philadelphia, the body of a woman, perfectly naked, was found; and it was believed that a whole family, living near Neepsend Bridge, had been washed away. In Ebenezer Street, the body of a man, rather under the middle height, with a moustache, was found and conveyed to a public-house in Bowling-Green Street. At Kelham rolling-mill the men were compelled to escape by the roof; and, in doing so, by some means set it on fire. When the flood had reached its height the water rapidly subsided, leaving the marks of its presence in the streets, which were, in many places, knee-deep in mud. Almost before they were passable persons sallied from their houses, and the evil news spread quickly. The streets of the town were thronged with persons hurrying to different parts, anxious to inquire into the fate of friends dwelling near the level of the river. While the darkness lasted little could be learnt from observation; but voices were heard shouting greetings over the wastes of mud and water, and eagerly inquiring how others had fared in the calamity. One had heard the first rush, and sprang out of bed to see the street filled with water. Another had been sleeping on the ground-floor, and heard a rush of water. He awoke his companion, who thought it rained hard. No, it could not be rain; the rush was too great for that. The bed moved—it was wet—he put out his foot, and found himself up to the knees in cold water. Such incidents might be multiplied indefinitely. It needs only to be known that, at the dead of the night, a great dark flood flowed through a densely populated part of the town, rousing the sleepers from their beds, and only too frequently drowning them like rats in a hole. The horrors of Friday night are known in the hearts of thousands, but can never be told.

"The destruction of property, all over the low-lying neighbourhood round the Midland station, has been enormous. This portion of the town was, for a time, completely inundated. All the large manufacturers are believed to have suffered great loss; and the small householders are mostly ruined. The loss of property is bad enough; but the loss of life is, of course, the chief cause of regret here. Aroused from their sleep in the dead of night, the poor people, perhaps only half awake, seem to have made their way at once into the streets, and were swept away instantly."



Several bodies recovered were partially dressed, while others were entirely naked, their clothing having been literally torn from their bodies by the violence of the stream. Carried away by the furious current, some of the bodies were found in most extraordinary places—two having been washed among the carriages in the Midland station.

In the summer of 1864, a great shock was given to all by the intelligence that a respectable clerk had been murdered in a first-class railway carriage on the North London line. The victim, whose name was Briggs, was about sixty years old. His skull was broken, and he had been flung out of the carriage on the line near Hackney Wick, where he was found alive, but insensible. Suspicion fell upon a German in poor circumstances, named Müller, who had suddenly left England, and had gone to America. A long chain of circumstantial evidence pointed him out as the wretch who had done the deed. A detective officer was sent in pursuit of him, who arrived at New York before the murderer, as the latter was on board a sailing vessel, while the former went by steam. Müller was captured, and brought back to this country. Great efforts were made to save him. The Germans in London subscribed a large sum for his defence; but he was tried, committed, and hung—and, as every one deemed, rightly (with the exception of the fanatics of the society for the abolition of punishment by death)—for the murder of poor Mr. Briggs. For some time the event created quite a terror in society; and travellers took good care not to travel in a railway carriage with another man alone.

Fire was especially destructive in London this year. In July, at mid-day, the chapel of the Savoy, in the Strand, and the last relic of the ancient palace, was burnt down—nothing remaining but the bare walls. On learning the event, the queen at once undertook to restore the building, in which she had previously taken much interest, at her own expense. In September, Haberdashers' Hall, and some fine new buildings in Gresham Street, were destroyed by fire. The damage was estimated at nearly half a million, besides the loss of many valuable paintings, and other historical relics of the Haberdashers' Company.

In October, there was an explosion in the neighbourhood of London, such as had never been known before. Early on Saturday, October 1st, the sad occurrence took place, killing eight or nine persons, if not more; wounding others, and carrying consternation and alarm among the inhabitants of the whole neighbourhood for many miles around.

The explosion occurred in a gunpowder dépôt belonging to Messrs. John Hall and Son; and, almost simultaneously, in a magazine of smaller size, used by Messrs. Day and Barker—both of them located in the Plumstead Marshes, on the margin of the Thames, two miles south of Erith, and about an equal distance from the village of Belvedere. It should be understood that these places were used entirely for the storage, and not at all for the manufacture, of gunpowder. The quantity supposed to have been exploded, in three distinct shocks, was between 120,000 lbs. and 150,000 lbs. The belief of persons conversant with the trade was, that the first shock took place on board one of the barges, unloading at the time; that the terrific concussion produced by it tore asunder the larger magazine; and some of the burning fragments alighting on it, caused an explosion infinitely more appalling, and which was instantaneously followed by the explosion of the smaller dépôt. The buildings were entirely destroyed; no survivors were left to tell how the calamity occurred; and a gap of more than 100 yards was made in the embankment by which the river was confined. Fortunately, the accident happened at low-water; but, with the tide rising, fears were entertained of a disastrous inundation. A message was sent by Mr. Moore to Mr. Houghton, one of the contractors under the Metropolitan Board of Works, at Crossness Point, about a couple of miles off; and, within twenty minutes afterwards, he had arrived upon the scene with 400 navvies, with all their tools and barrows. A communication was also forwarded to the garrison at Woolwich; and by half-past nine o'clock, detachments



of sappers and miners and artillery, to the number of 1,500, under the command of General Warde and Colonel Hawkins, reached the spot with all the necessary implements, and set about the repair of the breach with great good-will, and after the true method of military engineering. They were followed speedily by the 5th Fusiliers, who kept the ground from intrusion; and, later in the day, by the marines—both from the garrison at Woolwich. Before the troops arrived, the navvies, acting under Mr. Houghton and Mr. Moore, wheeled large masses of clay in front of the breach; while others puddled it into a solid bottom, by which means the subsequent military operations were greatly facilitated. On their arrival, the sappers and miners made horizontal arches at the back of the breach with bags filled with clay, one upon another, and with layers of earth intervening—these arches presenting a formidable front to the advancing tide; while the rest of the gap was being filled up and puddled by the navvies. Time was precious, and there was a scarcity of barrows; but the troops, adapting themselves to the emergency, formed themselves into lines from places where clay was available, and passed it along in lumps, from hand to hand, to the point of operations with great rapidity. About half-past one o'clock, when near high-water, the work became extremely exciting. The whole force contended with the advancing tide inch by inch, knowing that, if it once made a breach, the repair of the mischief would be vastly more difficult than the work in which they were then engaged. By three o'clock the embankment was restored in this rough-and-ready, but most efficient manner, and the crisis had passed. It withstood the succeeding tide, and was exposed to a severer trial in that of Sunday, which, with a stiff north-easterly breeze, beat heavily against it for about a couple of hours. At one time apprehensions as to its safety existed; and a party of sappers and miners, who had been telegraphed for, arrived from Woolwich to assist in the emergency. In case of failure, Mr. Moore had taken the precaution to send for about a dozen barges, with a view to have them loaded with clay, and then scuttled in front of the breach as a kind of breakwater; but, fortunately, occasion did not arise for the expedient being carried into effect.

The gap in the embankment, which was repaired with such wonderful rapidity after the explosions, by the sappers and miners, and the artillery from the Woolwich garrison, assisted by 400 of Mr. Webster's navvies from the main-drainage works at Crossness Point, has never in the least given way, though severely tested, on succeeding days, by high tides, and a strong north-easterly wind beating dead against it. Nevertheless, a band of navvies, acting under Mr. Rowell, were employed to back up the embankment with clay. Mr. Bazalgette, the engineer of the Metropolitan Board of Works, visited the spot in the course of the day, and gave directions that the work should be continued by the navvies until it was completed, for reasons affecting the main-drainage, apart from apprehensions of danger to the adjacent marshes from inundation. The great outfall works for the main-drainage, at Crossness Point, are about a couple of miles from the scene of the explosion; and had the neighbouring marshes been flooded, the mischief might not have been confined to that locality. About £150 worth of plate-glass, at the new works at Crossness Point, was destroyed by the explosion; but the works themselves withstood the shock without injury.

The damage done at Erith, in particular, in the way of broken glass, and the injury to property in other respects, was lamentably great. There was scarcely a house in the place the windows of which were not shattered less or more, and the inhabitants experienced much inconvenience. The windows of the old parish church were blown in among the rest, as were also those, in particular, of a whole row of houses, twenty or thirty in number, situated on the brow of a hill leading to Bexley, and belonging to Mr. Everett. For some minutes after the explosion the earth heaved and trembled with the effects of it in and about Erith and Belvedere, and the people were appalled and terror-stricken.



At Woolwich, the usual drills and barrack duties were at once dispensed with as far as practicable, for the purpose of rendering all possible aid to the sufferers from the explosion. The effects in the garrison and town were very destructive. The windows in the official departments, at private residences, and shops, were shattered; frames and sashes were dashed in, and several persons were severely injured. In many houses, ceilings and portions of the walls were shaken down, and people rushed from their houses in dismay. The whole of the medical staff of the garrison and town hastened to the scene to render their assistance. Dr. Domville, of the *Fisgard*, who was the first to reach the place, was pulled down the river to the immediate locality in the ship's cutter. In the shock many persons were thrown violently from their beds to the floor, and the former shook like ships at sea. In the arsenal and dockyard, serious fears were entertained that the large workshops would fall in, so great and violent was the concussion felt by the two shocks immediately following each other. In connection with the showers of paper, a remarkable circumstance occurred. A lad, named Eaves, was standing near the royal gun factories, in which he is employed, and picked up one of the torn pieces of paper which fell around him. He found it to be part of the page of a ledger, in which his uncle, a foreman in the employment of Mr. Hall, had that morning entered a memorandum. He had attached his signature at the foot, together with the date of the entry—namely, October 1, 1864. The shock of the explosion was distinctly felt in every part of Chatham and Rochester, which are distant about twenty-five miles from the scene of the disaster. At Deptford, in the workshops of Mr. Stone, a large navy contractor, which are under the arches of the railway there, the gaslights, to the number of about 150, were blown out simultaneously by the explosion.

Mr. Dawkins, of Belvedere, supplies a graphic description of the catastrophe as he observed it:—

“On Saturday morning, while reading in bed, I was startled by a tremendous concussion, that made the walls of my room crackle, and brought down portions of the ceiling. Under the impression that an earthquake was destroying my house, I sprang up, and made for the doorway. The instant I got there a loud explosion shivered my window to atoms, and covered my bed with pieces of glass and of mortar. At the same time my drawing-room bay window was dashed in; and, in another room, two windows, with frames and brickwork, were blown in without the glass being broken. I dressed as quickly as possible, under the impression that half the place, at least, was in ruins. On going out I witnessed a most extraordinary sight. The fronts of the houses and the shops, on either side of Bexley Road, had lost their glass, and, very generally, even their window-frames. Doors were blown in, and strong shutters smashed. The confusion, the screaming, the rushing about in night-dresses, and the anxiety of the mothers for the safety of their children, surpass all powers of description. The very dogs yelped with fear. By this time the dark column of smoke that, after ascending to a considerable height, spread like a gigantic mushroom at the top, proved that the mischief was done by the explosion of gunpowder. My friends, I found, had suffered pretty equally. If their windows were unbroken, the sashes, glass and all, had been blown inwards. The explosive force, however, acted in some cases most capriciously, smashing the windows on the ground-floor, and sparing those on the higher storeys, or the converse, and breaking those on all sides of the houses. In Belvedere, indeed, it seems to have acted equally on every side of the houses, being only in a slight degree influenced by the direction of the streets. Those houses that were sheltered by trees suffered equally with those that were exposed. The injuries resulting from falling window-panes and falling ceilings are merely slight fresh wounds and bruises. The breakage of glass extends on this side of the Thames, along a radius of at least five miles from the scene of the explosion, including Bexley and Woolwich.

“The force of the explosion may be inferred from the fact, that loose sheets of



paper were blown as far as Woolwich, and by small charred fragments of the powder-kegs being found at Abbey-wood, at a distance of two miles and a-half in a straight line. On going to a place that commanded a view of the marshes, I found the site that had been occupied by one of the magazines a smoking crater, one side of which had been blown away into the Thames, making a breach of fifty yards at least in the embankment. I looked in vain for a row of neat cottages that formerly stood there. It was, fortunately, low-water, or an inundation would have been added to the mischief. The number of killed (at least four or five) is not as yet known, because all those in the immediate neighbourhood of the magazines were blown to atoms. One human head was picked up at least a mile from the spot; a leg here, a man's breast there. A piece of human flesh also was fished out of the river.

"To-day (Sunday) I have been to the scene of the explosion. Everything within a radius of half a mile—trees, houses, barns—has been utterly destroyed, except two haystacks, and the *débris* jumbled in a most extraordinary manner. Fenders, chairs, bedsteads, and other household goods, are mixed up with brick-work, fragments of beams, and wrecks of all kinds; and prove but too surely the misery and destruction that have been caused. One cottage was swept entirely away, as with a broom, leaving no heaps of ruins but the ground-floor only to mark its site."

The explosion was distinctly felt at various places, at distances of from thirty to fifty miles; and was, by many persons, mistaken for a slight earthquake.

On the Sunday, thousands upon thousands of people visited the scene of the catastrophe, travelling mostly by the North Kent Railway; and it required the aid of a strong body of police, at the Erith and Belvedere stations, to maintain order and prevent accident. Unhappily, their efforts were not altogether successful. Throughout the whole day, crowds of people went, by the line from London and the intermediate stations, to the scene of the catastrophe, and a great number of them lingered there until dark. The result was, that until far towards midnight they congregated, in dense masses, on the station platforms at Erith and Belvedere, and besieged every train that stopped to admit passengers on the journey. The railway authorities at the London-bridge station, despatched extra trains as fast as they could do so with safety, to bring up the people; but in spite of that there was great delay, and the last up-train did not leave the Belvedere station until three o'clock on Monday morning. Some persons suffered much from overcrowding: one man, named Marandi, in attempting to enter a carriage in a general rush which was made for places on the arrival of an up-train, was dragged among the wheels, and sustained mortal injuries. He was brought to London by the same train, and taken to Guy's Hospital, where, refusing to be amputated, he died some three-quarters of an hour afterwards. On Monday, again, vast numbers of people visited the spot; and the trains were all, more or less, delayed on the return journey.

In January of the next year, 1864, the Surrey Theatre, in the Blackfriars Road, London, was destroyed by fire. It commenced a little before the termination of the performance; but, fortunately, the audience, as well as the actors, were enabled to withdraw without any one being materially injured. As, however, a great many people were thrown out of employment by the disaster, the charity of the public was appealed to, and a large sum of money was speedily raised. In Scotland, about this time, a terrible accident occurred in a public building, used for an exhibition, in which the would-be spectators suffered greatly. The crowd, pressing for admission, burst open the gate leading to a flight of steps, down which the foremost were precipitated; and before the pressure could be restrained, there lay a prostrate heap, six feet high. When extricated, nine young women and ten lads were dead, and many others were found to be seriously injured.

In the very same month in which Lord Palmerston died, we had another illustration of the dangers of the overcrowding and requirements of modern



civilisation. There was an explosion of a gasometer at Nine Elms, Lambeth, by which ten persons were killed, twenty-two injured (most of them severely), and many of the neighbouring houses shattered to pieces.

The introduction of the railway system was an immense boon to the public; but, at the same time, it added seriously to the distressing casualties which attend on and shorten human life. Terrible accidents have marked its rise and progress. We give a few of the more prominent ones. In March, 1859, there was a frightful accident on the Great Western Railway of Canada, in consequence of the embankment having given way, owing to heavy rains. Seven persons were killed, and seven received serious injuries. In the same year, in consequence of the washing away of an embankment on the line of the Michigan Railway, a train of carriages was precipitated into the river, at the South Bend, Indiana, and about eighty persons were killed or injured. Again, at a later period of the year, a luggage train overtook and ran into, with great force, a passenger train, in a tunnel near Port Glasgow, by which, out of 500 passengers, about a hundred were more or less injured—four of them very severely. In 1860, an excursion train on the Great Northern Railway, on approaching the King's Cross terminus, being imperfectly checked, broke down the wall in front of the terminus, crossed the public street, and injured several persons very seriously. A few months afterwards, in September, there was a distressing collision of excursion trains on the East Lancashire Railway, near Helmshore station, about eighteen miles north from Manchester. Ten persons were killed, and nearly a hundred injured. In 1861, there was a most grievous accident on a line exceptionally well managed, and remarkably free from anything of the kind—the Brighton Railway—a railway which, connecting London with its favourite watering-place, is extensively patronised by all classes of the community. The accident to which we refer was caused by a collision between two excursion trains in the Claydon tunnel, near Brighton. About twenty persons were killed on the spot, or died from the effects of the collision, and many others were severely injured. This happened on the 25th of August. On September 2nd, there was a collision on the Hampstead Junction Railway, by which fifteen persons were killed, and others severely hurt. In 1864, a sad accident occurred to a train coming from Ascot, after the close of the day's races. The trains bringing the visitors back followed each other close, and, at Egham, one ran into another that was just about departing. Though the speed of the incoming train was slackened, it could not prevent a collision, by which four persons were killed, and twenty-five more or less injured. A verdict of manslaughter was returned against the driver and stoker by a coroner's jury; and, at the same time, the defective management of the railway directors was severely and properly censured. We have to record still more unpardonable accidents. On June the 7th, owing to the rails being left unsecured, a train went off the line; eleven persons were killed, and between forty and fifty injured. On the 9th, another accident, arising from a similar cause, occurred on the South-Eastern line, near Staplehurst, in which ten persons were killed, and from twenty to thirty injured. It appears that one of the passengers, providentially preserved, was Charles Dickens, the distinguished novelist. The train was the tidal one, which left Folkestone on the arrival of the passenger boat from Boulogne. It was known when it would start, and at what time it would arrive at Staplehurst; and, at that very time, the plate-layers had removed the rails, and the consequence was a tragedy which deeply alarmed all, especially that numerous class of pleasure-seekers, or men of business, who are in the constant habit of rushing backward and forward between Paris and London. The inquiries into these and other railway disasters, confirm the belief that, as a rule, railway accidents are attributable chiefly to carelessness and bad management. In their anxiety to pay a dividend, an inefficient staff of servants is employed, and that staff is overworked and underpaid. It is to be hoped that, in time, railway directors will understand their true policy, and that there may be less destruction of human life.

But those who travel by sea are exposed to still greater peril, and one against which all human foresight is often of little avail. In 1857, a narrow escape was that of the crew of the *Sarah Sands*, transport ship, which caught fire in November. The powder was thrown over-board, the leak kept under, and the remains of the vessel navigated to the Mauritius in ten days, owing to the devotion and energy of Captain Castle, and the seamen and soldiers on board. In the same month there was a severe storm in the north of Scotland, and many fishing-boats lost. Off the Banffshire coast alone, forty-two fishermen lost their lives; leaving twenty-seven widows, and seventy-nine children. On our coasts, such calamities, though, fortunately, on a smaller scale, are by no means rare. In how many of our seaport towns is joy thus turned into mourning? How touching and appropriate is that beautiful ballad of Professor Kingsley!—

“ Three fishers went sailing out into the west,  
 Out into the west, as the sun went down;  
 Each thought of the woman who loved him best,  
 And the children stood watching them out of the town :  
     For men must work, and women must weep;  
     And there's little to earn, and many to keep,  
     Though the harbour bar be moaning.

“ Three wives sat up in the lighthouse tower,  
 And trimm'd the lamps as the sun went down;  
 And they look'd at the squall, and they look'd at the shower,  
 And the rack it came rolling up, ragged and brown :  
     But men must work, and women must weep,  
     Though storms be sudden, and waters deep,  
     And the harbour bar be moaning.

“ Three corpses lay out on the shining sands,  
 In the morning gleam as the tide went down,  
 And the women are watching and wringing their hands,  
 For those who will never come home to the town :  
     But men must work, and women must weep,  
     And the sooner it's over, the sooner to sleep,  
     And good-bye to the bar and its moaning.”

In 1859, the *Eastern Monarch*, troop ship, was burned to the water's edge, and seven persons lost their lives. A few days after, ten excursionists were drowned in being conveyed from the shore at Watchet to the steamer, the boats being leaky. In 1861, Captain Harrison, commander of the *Great Eastern* steam-ship, was drowned in the entrance to Southampton harbour, in consequence of the upsetting of a small boat, in which he was going ashore. In the same year, the emigrant ship *Luna* was wrecked on the rocks off Barfleur, near Cherbourg, and about a hundred persons perished. At this time there was a singular accident at the Porto Bello canal bridge, near Dublin. It appears that an omnibus, being pulled up on the incline of the bridge, backed down to the foot, its velocity increasing; and when it reached the bottom of the incline, it turned over into the canal basin, drowning the passengers, six in number. The driver was saved by being dragged out of the water by a policeman. In October, 1863, there was a storm of unusual violence. At the New Cross railway station a shed was blown down; two men were killed, and several injured. On the river, many crafts were driven into collision; and at sea there were a number of wrecks, with considerable loss of life. The gale continued to blow, at intervals, with great force till November 2nd. In December of the same year there was a terrible gale, which did much damage to property and life. In October, 1864, Calcutta was visited with a storm of almost unparalleled severity: 200 ships were blown from their moorings—some wrecked, and many driven ashore. There was great loss of life, especially among the native boatmen; and much damage was also done to the buildings of



the town; the tents of the natives were nearly all levelled to the ground; the Roman Catholic and Scotch churches, and the cathedral, were injured. In the botanic garden, much mischief was done by the blowing down and uprooting of the trees. In February, 1865, the barge of the Thames marine officers' training-ship, *Worcester*—lying off Erith, with a crew of twenty-two of the young cadets, under the charge of an experienced boatman—was suddenly capsized, and ten of the young men unfortunately drowned. In August of the same year, a fearful loss of life occurred at Port Canning, Calcutta, occasioned by the misconduct of the drunken crew of a ship which was taking out a large number of coolies to Demerara. The ship struck on the Mutlah sands, sprang a leak, and began to sink, but not finally sinking for twenty-four hours. The crew abandoned her; and the steam-tug, which had been employed in towing her down, offered only a too tardy assistance; the consequence being that full 300 of the coolies were drowned; while a few who managed to swim to some adjacent mud islets were devoured by tigers. The total number of wrecks and casualties, from all causes, on the coasts of the United Kingdom, and in the surrounding seas, reported in 1865, was 1,656; and thus 698 lives were unfortunately lost.

In the year 1865, a very serious calamity threatened the entire family of John Bull. There was a rumour, which, in time, settled down into an admitted fact, that an alarming disease threatened the cattle, and that beef was growing scarce and dear. As the flesh-consuming properties of John Bull are undoubtedly great, very serious apprehensions were speedily aroused. On the continent, it appeared, the cattle disease raged with great virulence; nor was it long before it made its way to our shores. At length government was compelled to interfere. On August 2nd, an order was issued by the Privy Council, containing regulations for guarding against the cattle plague; and on the 11th of the same month, in consequence of its rapid spread, appeared another order, commanding the destruction of infected beasts, and imposing a penalty of £25 for infractions of the regulations. This was followed by other orders, appointing inspectors at the ports to examine foreign cattle, and in country districts, to insure the carrying out of the orders in council. On September 22nd, in consequence of the plague having extended very widely to sheep, a new order was issued, by which the previous orders were made to apply to all infected animals—the word animal to include any cow, heifer, bull, bullock, ox, calf, sheep, lambs, goat, or swine. In October, a government commission was appointed to investigate the cause, and the means of repressing the disease; but that did not produce much effect in the year 1865; and it was with grief and pain that the reader of the daily newspaper continued to hear of the alarming and growing ravages of the cattle disease.

One class of men, however, must have profited greatly by the panic—that is, the butchers, who bought their meat cheaper, and sold it dearer than ever to the public. The graziers and farmers, of course, hurried their beasts to market, anxious to receive any price for them; and then, under the plea of coming scarcity—in spite of actual abundance—the butchers made the public pay enormous and unprecedented prices. *Pater Familias* grumbled, as well he might, when he was charged for his Sunday leg of mutton as much as a shilling a pound. The papers were filled with letters and leaders on the all-important theme; and *Punch* addressed an appeal, entitled “A Word with Marrowbones and Cleavers,” with which we take leave of this part of our subject. The appeal was as follows:—

“O, mantled with celestial blue,  
 Arrayed as children of the sky;  
 Say, there are none who can but you,  
 What makes the price of meat so high?  
 Thou, Butcher, with a nimble grace,  
 Whetting bright blade on trusty steel;  
 Now tell me how you can, with face,  
 Ask fifteen pence a pound for veal?”



"The Steak that shares a homely name  
With Parliament renowned of yore,  
Canst thou, without a sense of shame,  
Put coolly down at one-and-four?  
That humbler steak, named simply beef,  
Less soft of substance and more dense,  
Wilt thou impose on our belief  
As fairly worth a dozen pence?

"The price of joints from woolly flock,  
That grazed upon the Southern hills,  
Convulses us with fearful shock  
Whene'er we scan our weekly bills:  
For Mutton's cost canst thou pretend  
To state a reasonable ground;  
O thou that legs and loins dost vend  
High as one shilling both per pound!

"No scarcity of sheep and kine,  
No murrain hath so ready made  
Those hieroglyphic bills of thine,  
Thank importation through Free Trade!  
Besides, beneath thy poleaxe fall  
Heads which thou smitest but to save:  
Behold abundance large in all  
The shambles—shall I say thou knave?

"'Best short-horns beef,' by wholesale bought,  
Doth but five shillings cost the stone,  
The offal sunk; ye Butchers ought  
To thrive full well on that alone.  
Namely, horns, tallow, hide, and skin,  
Whence ye derive a profit clear;  
But though you get the offal in,  
The meat ye sell is awful—dear.

"Ah! shout not, 'What d'ye buy, buy, buy?'  
Until your charges you abate:  
Soon will our answer to your cry  
Be, 'Nothing at the present rate.'  
But now cut in, adventurous Blade,  
Thy way to carve out fortune's plain;  
As honest Butcher start in trade;  
Much custom will insure great gain."

## CHAPTER XXVII.

### INDUSTRIAL AND PHILANTHROPIC.

THE poet tells us—

"All men think all men mortal but themselves."

In like manner, there are certain principles admitted; but the application of them is denied under the plea of exceptional circumstances. Free-traders, for instance, were very apt to demand protection for their own particular calling. The working classes were, many of them, the most determined opponents of free trade and the Anti-Corn-Law League. In America, at this very time, they have had strength enough to impose and sustain the Morell tariff, the American shipping laws, and high duties, under the protecting influence of which, American commerce is threatened with utter ruin. There was a time—and that



not one far removed—when the Spitalfield weavers, the Nottingham stocking-makers, the Coventry ribbon manufacturers, the Leeds clothier—aye, even the Manchester cotton-spinners, were all heart and soul in favour of protection. That fallacy, we shall now see, was becoming exploded; but a new danger to industry arose in another quarter. The men were now learning their strength, and organising themselves into unions to oppose their masters. Capital and labour we thus find more and more arrayed against each other. Trade was paralysed, and in many places destroyed, by this mutual opposition. In reality, the interests of labour and capital are the same; but it is clear neither masters nor men have at present found their way to the proper appreciation of that fundamental principle. The more intelligent workmen were quite as ready to resort to strikes as their less fortunate brethren; and thus much bitterness was created, much suffering endured, much business destroyed. At first the masters generally got the better of the men. They had capital, and could afford to wait for the return of more auspicious times. In 1856, the principal engineering firms of London and Lancashire discharged their workmen, and closed their works, rather than submit to the demand of the Amalgamated Society of Operative Engineers, for the abolition of piece-work and overtime. A bad thing this for England; but capital for the iron-masters of Liège, and other foreign competitors.

In 1859, there was a great strike in the building trades of the metropolis, in consequence of the workmen demanding that the hours of labour should be reduced from ten to nine per day, without any reduction of wages. The movement was, in the first instance, directed against Messrs. Trollope and Sons, whose men struck in a body. The large employers generally made common cause with Messrs. Trollope, and closed their establishments till the firm in question resumed operations. The masters also resolved that, previous to returning to their employment, the men should be required to promise not to connect themselves with any society which should interfere with the hours or wages of labour. This was repudiated by the workmen on strike, who received large contributions from trade societies in London and the provinces, in aid of their support while on strike. The erection of many public works was in consequence suspended. An arrangement was come to in November; and, after a great deal of suffering had been experienced, the strike ceased. In the month just mentioned, a man named William Pereham was committed to prison for two months, for intimidating workmen in connection with the builders' strike. Pereham appealed, and was admitted to bail. It must be confessed that the men gained much by organisation, and are, perhaps, now as well off as they can ever expect to be.

In 1860, there was a strike in the Coventry silk trade, which terminated disastrously for the men; they having come to a mutual agreement to make the best terms they could with their several masters. The truth was that the demand for Coventry goods was on the decrease. In a rising market the men would have gained more by standing out. In March, 1865, a very serious strike occurred—we refer to that of the iron-workers of North Staffordshire, who withstood the reduction of wages required by the iron-masters to meet the fall in the price of iron. It appears that they having endeavoured to organise the means of support by allowing the workmen in other districts to accept the terms till the masters of North Staffordshire had been compelled to forego the proposed reduction, the iron-masters throughout the kingdom agreed to lock-out all the men, unless those of North Staffordshire accepted the offered terms. This was refused, and the lock-out commenced. It was calculated that the total weekly wages of which the workmen thus deprived themselves, amounted to £120,000; and, as we may well suppose, the withdrawal of this occasioned extreme distress. At the same time, the foreign trade, which amounted to £13,000,000 a year, was, to some extent, interrupted and thrown into other channels. Happily, the extreme measures adopted in self-defence by the masters were not of long duration. In the beginning of April, the lock-out in South Staffordshire ended. The men promised

not to subscribe towards maintaining the strike in North Staffordshire ; and once more the masters opened their works.

The basis upon which workmen rest the alleged necessity of combination is this—that individual competition would be borne down by the tyranny of the capitalist. We will take their exposition of this principle from a paper issued by the United Trades' Building Conference, in answer to an address of the Central Association of Master Builders, in 1859.

"It is only by association that we can hope to present a barrier against the aggressive selfishness of capital. Under existing circumstances, to talk of leaving the artisan individually, and disconnected from the sympathies and support of his fellow-toilers, to make his arrangements with the capitalist, would be to advocate the speedy and effectual reduction of the working classes to slavery ; the trampling out of their spirit of manhood, and the extinction of that intellect which makes the English artisan the support of his country's greatness, and the admiration of the industrial world. The man who employs the labour of a thousand men, and gathers the profits produced by their labour, has, through the influence of his capital, as much power concentrated in himself as in the possession of all the men in his employ. Any individual man among them has only the thousandth part of the power which is centred in the master for competition or resistance. What chance has he, then, without the moral co-operation of the remaining 999, of making an equal contract with his employer ? What power of logic is there that can show that the employed would not be helplessly at the mercy of the selfish employer, were it not for the protection afforded by union ?"

In this paper, as is generally the case, the interests of the general public—the consumer—are quite overlooked. The plea put forth is the one with which we were too familiar during the agitation of the Anti-Corn-Law League. The monopolists mean to say—"It is only by association that we can hope to present a barrier against the oppressive selfishness of those who desire to consume at the cheapest rate." In the long run, the workman suffers by union—just as did the old traders and farmers by protection. The labourer relies on others, rather than his own exertion ; and palms off upon his employer an inferior value of labour. For a time this system may answer, but it must fail in the long run.

The right of the workmen to combine has been admitted in the fullest manner. In 1859, the legislature declared as follows :—"That no workman or other person, whether actually in employment or not, shall, by reason of his entering into an agreement with any workman or workmen, or other person or persons, for the purpose of fixing, or endeavouring to fix, the rate of wages or remuneration at which they or any of them shall work, or by reason merely of his endeavouring peaceably, and in a reasonable manner, and without threat or intimidation, direct or indirect, to persuade others to cease or abstain from work, in order to obtain the rate of wages or the altered hours of labour so fixed or agreed upon, or to be agreed upon, be taken or deemed to be guilty of molestation or obstruction within the meaning of the said act ; and shall not, therefore, be subject or liable to any prosecution or indictment for conspiracy. Provided always that nothing herein contained shall authorise any workman to break or depart from any contract, or authorise any attempt to induce any workman to break or depart from any contract." As a rule, strikes fail, and fail speedily, unless protracted and upheld by other workmen. On the plea that they are fighting for a principle, they cause a wide-spread ruin, and are as mischievous as an invading army. The spinners' strike, of Manchester, in 1810, which threw 30,000 persons out of employ, continued for four months. The Preston strike, of 1854, which condemned 17,000 persons to idleness, continued for four months. But the power, or the will, of other workmen to contribute to the union funds at last came to an end. Work was renewed, in the one case, upon worse wages ; in other cases at the same wages. "To describe the lamentable effects of strikes," writes Mr. Charles Knight, "the destitution, the sickness, the deaths of families, is to present salutary warnings ; but



it would be more salutary if the principles could be understood, which would show that strikes must fail." This was written in 1860; since then the workmen have increased in wealth, intelligence, and power. They are now well organised, have their own paper, are led by clever men, and have numerous funds at their disposal. And yet for their wrongs, fancied or real, their favourite remedy is still a strike. It is a folly that it should be so. It is a pity that, between masters and men, whose interest is always mutual, there should so often spring up a yawning gulf of hate.

The education of these people is, at present, far from what it ought to be. According to the registrar-general, of every 100 men married in 1864, there were twenty-three who put their mark, instead of writing their names, in the marriage register; and of every 100 women married, thirty-two were in a similar state. This is a fact most deeply to be lamented. The savings of these men are chiefly deposited with the trades' unions, who have large sums of money at their command. It is generally believed that working-men do not invest in savings banks so largely as they ought; the deposits are believed to come more generally from servants, and others receiving monthly or quarterly wages, than from artisans earning from twenty to forty shillings a week. It is ascertained that there are about 140,000 persons in England who are at once owners and occupiers of small houses, varying from £2 to £14 per annum; 25,000 owners and occupiers of houses from £14 to £20; and 45,000 in houses of an annual value of above £50. It thus appears that there are just about 200,000 persons altogether paying to themselves an estimated rental of £2,800,000, of which about one-half is for houses between £20 and £50. If it be true, as was lately said, that one single building firm in the metropolis employs 3,000 hands, who received thirty shillings a week all round, then, most certainly, the savings of the working classes might be greater than they are.

In 1865, these unions began to create considerable apprehension in particular quarters. It is certain no one ever contemplated the purposes to which these formidable associations of working-men had been applied. Societies, which were originally regarded as mere benefit societies, for the support or organisation of sick or aged members of the trade, had, by that time, become machines of immense commercial power, directed to the control of an entire trade, for the exclusive benefit of a class. Sick funds, and other charitable resources, are still administered; but the main object of a trade union in the present day is the regulation of the trade. The last appeal of workmen, when they want more than a master can give, is a strike. The latter loses his profits, the former their wages. Now-a-days the strike does not entail much hardship on the men. The unions have large funds at command; and, by the aid of these funds, and a certain peculiar economy of power, they can fight their masters with but little suffering and no risk. All the trade take part in the contest, but all the trade does not strike. The "strike" is confined to a single shop. In the other shops, the men of the same trade and of the same union go to work on the very same terms which they have declared inadmissible in the case of the particular master against whom the strike is directed. The men on "strike" receive from their fellow-workmen allowances which are sufficient for their maintenance, and they could remain "out" for two years as easily as for two months. It is obvious that, except by some counter-combination, no master could resist this pressure, and yet every effective combination of the masters is violently resented by the men.

Sometimes the masters "lock out"—that is to say, the masters whose men have not actually "struck" themselves, but who are maintaining those on "strike," enter into the contest by closing their doors, and locking out the workmen who would not be unwilling to come in. This is always designated as a monstrous injustice, an act of tyrannical oppression, to be reprobated and condemned by public opinion. Yet it is self-defence; and the wages thus withheld from the men are only those which their own union has proscribed as unfit to be taken. They themselves fully intend to refuse them when the opportunity arises; but, for the time, they desire



to get them, in order to coerce the particular employer selected for present operations. What are the masters to do? If a "strike," as managed in modern fashion, is not to be met by a "lock-out," it must be successful, for the stress is all on one side. The men on "strike" are suffering nothing at all, while the master is exposed to ruin. In fact, we have recently seen that "strikes" have succeeded all over the country; and that working-men have obtained improved terms in trade after trade, and town after town.

If we would learn the power of these societies, let us take the case of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, first established in 1860. At the end of that year it comprised twenty branches, with an aggregate of 618 members, and a balance of £321 in hand. In 1865, it comprised 134 branches, with an aggregate of 5,670 members, and a balance of £8,320 in hand. Nor is this the whole extent of its progress; for it entered, shortly afterwards, into negotiations with the associated joiners of Scotland, for the purpose of establishing a common understanding between the two bodies. The treaty had a favourable issue. As far as the two executives were concerned, all was cordiality and agreement; and it was hoped that, at a meeting of delegates, shortly to be held, the alliance would be so ratified as to combine the power and influence of these large and kindred institutions on suitable occasions. Altogether, the secretary appeared justified in remarking, that "the desire for combination evinced during the past few years, from the most skilled artisan to the agricultural labourer—from the chief centres of industry to the most remote parts of the country—proves, conclusively, that the adoption of trade societies, in the widest possible sense, is only a question of time."

Let us now turn to the operations of this flourishing union, as shown in its accounts, and acknowledged in its annual manifesto. The income of the Amalgamated Society, for the year 1865, was upwards of £10,000, exclusive of a balance of nearly £5,000 remaining on hand at Christmas, 1864. They could dispose, therefore, of no less than £15,000; and they did dispose of nearly half that sum. But the distribution of this expenditure deserves attentive remark. Sick members of the society received £1,369; and other allowances, of a kindred nature, bring up the total disbursements under this head to an amount of about £2,300. The entire outlay, however, was nearly three times that sum; so that we find the expenditure upon benefits, of what is presumably a benefit society, confined to about one-third of its whole payments. Where did the rest of the money go to? It went, to the extent of £730, in salaries to officers and committees; besides which £217 was spent in "delegations." But the largest item in the whole account, exceeding by 50 per cent. the entire payment to sick members, is the outlay upon "trade privileges," amounting to no less than £1,941 8s. 1d. Now, what are these "privileges" of such costly charge? Apparently the entry means that this money was spent in maintaining and enlarging the privileges of trade—that is to say, in procuring better terms from the employers of labour. That is the only interpretation we can put upon it; and, in another portion of the report, we can discover that the investment produced its fruit.

The secretary gives a list of ninety-four towns in which the Amalgamated Society is regularly represented; and he recapitulates the instances in which, during one year, the members of the trade obtained either an increase of wages or a reduction in the number of working hours. In no fewer than fifty-two towns out of the ninety-four was an advance of wages gained, while in thirty a reduction of time was secured. It is specified as worthy of particular remark, that, "since the opening of a branch of the society in Bradford, the working hours of that town have been reduced eight and a-half per week, and an advance obtained of 1s. per week; and this at the cost of a few shillings." In addition to this, the Amalgamated Society has, in many towns, succeeded in getting a "code of working rules" adopted by the common consent of masters and men, and thus establishing certain regulations for the conduct of trade. How all this was done we are frankly told in the following words:—"In many instances these advantages were granted



when asked for, and in the best possible spirit; in others, after repeated meetings between the employers and our members, and mutual concessions. But in some few instances, after vainly trying to avoid it, we were obliged to resort to the 'old way' of settling these difficulties, which no one more than ourselves regretted." The necessity thus experienced accounts, no doubt, for some of the outlay upon "trade privileges." In conclusion, the secretary hopes, "by just and reasonable demands, enforced by moderation and consistency, to see the position of our members still further improved; and our society increase in numbers, influence, and usefulness."

Of course, if the men are underpaid, these trades' unions, by raising the rate of wages, are productive of benefit. But then, again, if their masters cannot afford to give more wages, or to have put a higher price on the articles they manufacture in consequence, trade is driven away, and the workmen ultimately suffer. That, to some extent, this has been the case, is borne out by the statistics of the Belgian iron trade. We heard of a strike, very recently, in the north—supported, of course, by the men in the London union. At length the masters called the men together, told them that such and such a contract had been offered them, and that they could take it, and would take it, at their old rate of wages. The men agreed to do this. It afterwards turned out that the same contract had been offered to the London masters, who had been obliged to decline it. The trades' unions have also a mischievous effect in other ways. They tend to prevent improvement, and they secure for the lazy and ignorant labourer a rate of wages he could never earn for himself, were he judged according to his deserts.

"Not content," says a writer in the *Times*—"not content with laying down laws for the government of the members included in the union, they aim at an 'organisation of labour;' by which is meant an organisation to control the whole labour power of the country. In the pursuit of this object, they hesitate not to commit acts the most tyrannical and oppressive, excluding from employment those, whatever may be their qualifications, who may not have been initiated under club law; they ignore all gradations of skill, and proclaim all men equal, and entitled to an equal rate of wages. They demand the dismissal of a manager or inspector, who, by a too faithful discharge of his duty to his employers, has become obnoxious to the committee of the trade; the penalty in such cases, for non-compliance, being a 'call-off'—that is, a withdrawal of all the men employed. Not long ago, on a refusal to submit to a demand of this nature by the architect of a great public work, an order was issued by the committee for a cessation of work, not only where this dispute occurred, but on all the works in other places under the care of the same architect.

"Trades' unions seek, by violence, outrage, and intimidation, to obstruct all mechanical improvements which have for their object the economy of labour. A striking instance of this nature was related to me to-day. A few years ago, a valuable machine was introduced by one of our most eminent engineers for making bricks. It not only reduced the cost of manufacture, but greatly improved the quality, both as regards appearance and durability. A company was formed; the capital was immediately subscribed; the site was selected; plans drawn of the buildings to be erected; and tenders were solicited from some of our great contractors for the erection of the works. All went on swimmingly up to this point; but the directors were little aware of the obstacles that lay in their path.

"The contract was taken by one of the most eminent firms of builders; but no sooner did this fact come to the ears of the committee of the building trades, than an intimation was given to the firm, that any attempt to execute the contract would be followed by a 'call-off' from all the works in which this firm was engaged; and, rather than encounter a state of things so serious, they wrote to the Brick Company, stating the position in which they were placed, and expressing their regret at the necessity they were under of withdrawing from the contract. The Brick Company applied to other builders, but all to no purpose; the reason being that the

committee of the Brickmakers' Union had determined to stop the supply of bricks to any builder who lent a hand to rear the works of the Brick Company.

"In this strait the company were thrown on their own resources, and they determined to do the work themselves. Before they could make bricks themselves, they required a house for their machinery: they could not get a brick for love or money. The grounds were picketed; and any carter bringing material, of whatever sort, was civilly warned that it would be better for him not to repeat his visit.

"The company then determined to make a wooden erection; but no timber merchant was willing to place himself under the ban of the union; and they were under the necessity of buying the timber, and getting the building framed, at Liverpool.

"Having, at a very great sacrifice, obtained a covering for their machinery, and having obtained from a distance as many bricks as were necessary for the setting of the steam-boiler, the one essential was a chimney. They had no bricks, nor could they obtain any; but if the bricks had been procurable, there was not a man who would dare to build the chimney. They, therefore, had recourse to an iron funnel. On the arrival of this iron chimney on the ground, the next difficulty was to elevate it to its position; and, for this purpose, a part of a builder's plant, known by the name of 'shear legs,' was required.

"They applied to the building firms for a loan of this instrument; all would gladly have acceded, but no one dared the risk. One, however, whose sympathies were stronger than those of the rest, determined to help the unfortunate company, if possible—not by the loan of his own plant, but by borrowing, in a distant town, or some remote corner, not supposed to be under the keen eyes of the committee, a pair of 'shear legs,' which having been surreptitiously brought on to the ground, the chimney was at length reared.

"The act had not, however, escaped the argus-eyed committee. They traced the means by which the work had been accomplished, and the unfortunate builder received a summons to meet the committee at a particular spot and hour on the following evening; stating, at the same time, that if he failed to appear, all his men would be withdrawn. He felt it necessary to obey the summons, and there met the august committee. The committee, pointing to the 'shear legs,' put certain questions with a view to ascertain from the delinquent the extent of his complicity in procuring for the Brick Company the means of raising their iron funnel; and, after fencing with the questions, he was at length told that they were in possession of all the facts, the truth of which he was at last constrained to admit. He was then requested to withdraw to a distance while the committee deliberated upon the case; and after some time he was called up to receive judgment. It was to the effect that they had been much disposed to punish him by a 'call-off' of his men; but they would forego the extreme penalty, on the promise that he would avoid all cause of offence in the future.

"The company at length got the machinery into operation; but their troubles were far from being ended. They could make bricks, but no one dared to buy them. An edict had gone forth that, wherever a machine-brick was found, the supply from all other sources should be stopped; and consequently, although, to some extent, the company have forced their bricks upon the market, very few of the builders will venture upon their use; and, at the present moment, their capital is profitless, solely because they cannot vend one-half the quantity which their machinery will produce.

"In this case, as in many others, a most valuable invention has been obstructed in the course for which it is qualified—that of cheapening the supply, and improving the quality of bricks."

The trades' union is, in the opinion of many of the working-men, a religion. Their faith in its power to benefit their order is undoubting; its dogmas are enforced by them with the most despotic disregard of individual and personal



freedom. In accordance with the behests of the union, they will encounter sacrifices with a degree of patient endurance that is really wonderful to contemplate; and no wonder, since it is clear that the main object of such associations is to prevent that natural adjustment of prices which is the unfettered operation of the law of supply and demand. In short, the trades' unionists are protectionists, and seek to give to labour an arbitrary and fictitious value. In America they are the same. The trades' unionists take good care to sell their labour in the dearest market, and to buy in the cheapest; but they will not allow to the masters their right to do the same. They are all for themselves; and the interests of that important personage, without whom master and man could never exist—the consumer—are completely overlooked.

Many efforts have been made to get an accurate idea of the extent and the wealth of the working classes in this country. From the very nature of the case, it is clear that the estimate of no writer can be fully relied on. During a discussion, arising out of the general election in 1865, Mr. Bass expressed a belief that those who, in this country, are usually called the working classes, earn no less than £380,000,000 annually. Mr. Gladstone, some time after, mentioned it at £250,000,000; but this lower figure was regarded by the *Times* as too high. Mr. Leone-Levi, of King's College, a great statistical authority, at the request of Mr. Bass, investigated the subject. Allowing for the increase of the population since 1861, Professor Levi thus distributes the number of workers, male and female:—In England and Wales, 7,466,000; Scotland, 1,104,000; Ireland, 2,127,000: a total of 10,697,000. The professor excludes from this number all the professional class, and the greater part of the domestic (wives, children, &c.) and commercial classes. He also excludes all persons over sixty years of age, whose earnings are considered to be about counterbalanced by various causes of loss, or non-earning, on the part of those between twenty and thirty. The wages earned by this mass of labourers Mr. Leone Levi calculates to be as follows:—England and Wales, £311,500,000; Scotland, £42,700,000; Ireland, £64,000,000: making a total, for the United Kingdom, of £418,200,000—a sum vastly exceeding the estimates of Messrs. Bass and Gladstone. The professor's estimate of the wealth of the nation is £745,200,000, made up as follows:—£327,000,000 on which income-tax is paid, and £418,200,000, working class earnings, mostly free from that impost.

If we ask where the manufacturing and commercial population is mostly to be found, the writer of an article in the *Companion to the Almanac for 1866*, says, geology and physical geography must furnish us with an answer. Wherever the stratification, at an attainable depth beneath the surface, includes good coal, there are found a large and important population of pitmen—as in Durham and Northumberland; the west lowland districts of Scotland, Lancashire, and North Cheshire; Yorkshire and Derbyshire, Staffordshire and Worcestershire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, Somersetshire and Gloucester, and South Wales. Wherever ironstone occurs, with coal in the immediate vicinity, there we are sure to see the wondrous blaze and murky smoke of vast furnaces, so lurid and weird-like at night—as in the black county of Staffordshire, the stupendous works of South Wales, and the newly-developed and wonderfully prolific region of Cleveland, in North Yorkshire. Where coal and iron are in this way plentiful, we see how the trades of machine and engine building grow up near at hand, employing hundreds of thousands of our best-paid artisans, and developing an amount of mechanical ingenuity not equalled in any other districts. Where tin and copper are abundant, as in Cornwall and the western half of Devon, there we find presented the characteristics of a distinct class of the community—the Cornish miners, with their sober habits, shrewd intelligence, combined with a dash of superstition and a tendency towards a system of co-operative labour, not yet, unfortunately, much developed elsewhere. Where slate crops up to the surface, we find grow up a district of quarrymen's villages, and a system of operation peculiar to itself—as in the gigantic slate quarries of Bethesda, near Bangor; and in the

mountain groups that surround Snowdon. Where, as in Cheshire, vast beds of salt underlie the surface, there is a material at hand which serves as the basis for numerous chemical manufactures; and this is one reason why, among several, such manufactures are mostly carried on in the northern counties. Where a peculiar kind of fire-resisting clay is found, as at Stourbridge, there do we find more earthen retorts, and crucibles, and fire-bricks made than in any other part of England. Again, regarding the courses and mouths of rivers rather than the geological stratification under our feet, we find that nature's work, in that respect, is the determining agency to vast accumulations of population. Liverpool is the greatest place of import for cotton, chiefly because the mouth of the Mersey affords a tempting port of entry for American ships; and Lancashire became the cotton county, chiefly because Liverpool was the place of import. Flax and hemp manufacturers have their head-quarters at Leeds, chiefly because the eastern ports are most suitable for ships laden with that produce from Belgium, Holland, and the Baltic countries. Glasgow is great, far north as is her latitude, because the Clyde affords a wonderfully convenient outlet for coal and iron, a suitable inlet for cotton and other American produce, and facilities for building on a large scale. So it is all over England and Wales, and the southern half of Scotland. Geological formation and river debouchment mainly determine the great departments of manufacturing and commercial enterprise; and in the localities so determined we find the busy hives of men most peopled.

In 1851, an attempt was made to introduce what is called Bloomerism into this country. Bloomerism, an American importation, meant a new kind of female costume for ladies; and, as it included the use of breeches, it was supposed to be connected with woman's rights. The new dress consisted of loose trousers, gathered in at the ankles; a short, but very full, shirt; and a broad hat. In truth, the dress was much like that worn by school-girls of twelve or fourteen years of age. Female lecturers, in full costume, attended by a female in the same dress, endeavoured to familiarise the English with it, but in vain. It was patronised by a few doubtful characters, and then, in a little while, heard of no more.

In 1853, the British and Foreign Bible Society, having arrived at the fifteenth year of its existence, commemorated its jubilee at Exeter Hall. The chair was occupied by the Earl of Shaftesbury. The meeting consisted of a large number of noblemen, prelates, and gentlemen, and members of various denominations. From statements made to the meeting by the noble chairman, it appeared that, since the foundation of the society, 8,000 branch societies had been instituted; the Scriptures had been translated into 148 languages and dialects, of which 121 had never before been printed; upwards of 43,000,000 copies had been disseminated amongst 600,000,000 of the human race: of the languages into which these copies had been rendered, upwards of twenty-five had existed hitherto without an alphabet, and merely in an oral form.

The same year, the table-moving mania sprang into existence. People, called professors of spiritualism, or spiritualists, gravely believed or declared, that if a number of persons stood round a table, each pressing it with the tips of the fingers of the hands on the surface, a mysterious power would gradually set the table in motion, and rapping would be heard, indicating the presence of spirits, who would answer questions addressed to them. Professor Faraday did not deem it beneath his dignity to publish an address to expose the delusion. He declared himself "greatly startled by the revelation which this purely physical subject has made of the public mind;" and said, the system of education that could leave the mental condition of the public in the state in which this subject had found it, must have been very greatly deficient in some important principle. According to this acknowledged philosopher, the phenomenon is due to nothing more than the preponderance or resultant of physical force in one direction, given by a *quasi* involuntary muscular action of the experimentalists, where their minds have been



deadened by long waiting in vacancy, and the sense of touch in the fingers is benumbed by continued pressure.

It appears the spiritualists made preparations for a fresh campaign, and soon opened a Spiritual Athenæum in Sloane Street, Chelsea. At the *soirée* given on the occasion, the inaugural lecture was read by Mr. Samuel Carter Hall, of the *Art Journal*, and some drawings were exhibited, supposed to be under the direction of the spirits; of which all we can say is, that they were atrociously bad. Of course, Mr. Home was there, and was the lion of the evening. Our readers are aware this gentleman has taken the name of Lyon—a widow lady of that name having adopted him as her son, and settled on him £26,000, so that he may be left free to follow his spiritual career. Nay, more: the lady in question, pending the settlement of the £26,000, made the happy man a present of the trifle of £6,000, just to keep the wolf from the door; and it is not improbable, as the lady is well off, and has £190,000 at her disposal, and has no near relations (she is the widow of a general officer, and the estate goes to the heir-at-law, a very distant connection indeed), she may confer upon the Home-Lyon, as he is now called, further favours. Virtue is its own reward; but, in Mr. Lyon's case, virtue has fared infinitely better. His wife was a Russian countess, and with her he had a fortune of £12,000, settled on their only child. The countess is dead, but her spirit is ever near to advise, and guard, and soothe, and sustain. Whenever Mr. Lyon is in circumstances of difficulty and danger, the spirit of the departed wife immediately appears. We should say Mr. Lyon has a great affinity for female spirits. Though not at all a prepossessing looking man in appearance, his manner to ladies is remarkably so. He has an eye of great power; he is a good linguist; a beautiful reciter; he plays music divinely—in short, he is quite the man for a drawing-room—to flatter and win over the softer and fairer part of creation. Let us add, on his fingers are conspicuous diamonds—one the gift of a Russian, the other of a French emperor. A very warm admirer of the distinguished spiritualist is that charming and gifted writer Mrs. S. C. Hall, and at her house many of his *seances* are held. Devout persons are admitted to them, as they will be to the Spiritual Athenæum in Sloane Street; but they must be orthodox, and believers in the Trinity. The truth is, as one of the most prominent of the sect confessed to a friend of the writer's, the spirits do not like to appear before sceptical people. These *seances* are always opened with prayers; and then, if the faithful only are present, the spirits will appear, turn the table, play but very indifferently on the accordion, and make remarks more or less important. From what we can gather of these spirit utterances, we cannot find that they are in the habit of saying anything particularly worth hearing; their philosophy appears to be that of Swedenborg; and you will hear nothing more than you find in his writings. All at once Mr. Lyon is in a trance, his eye, of course, in a "fine frenzy rolling;" and through him the spirit of some one known to some present appears, and expresses his regret for misconduct or want of gratitude to some one present while in the body of this flesh. Depend upon it we lose very little by not being present at a spiritualist manifestation. Occasionally the spirits do refer to events known only as you fancy to one; but they are not always successful. If, for instance, Mr. Lyon tells the hearer the spirit of some one loved in early youth appears, the chances are that the manifestation is more or less true. Most of us have loved some fair girl no longer on earth, and whose memory we should recall upon such an occasion. But when Mr. Lyon tells her name; when he says it was Mary, when it was Jane, one's confidence in the spirits is shaken. There is also something very underhand about these spirits. If they play the accordion, it is *under* the table; if they convey to you a handkerchief from another party, it is *under* the table that the spirit wafes the handkerchief. Does this indicate modesty or something else, to denote which a term of less favourable meaning must be used? We give no opinion; we only record what we hear and see. We can only add that Mr. Home Lyon deserves all the eminence he has won, and that he is to be congratulated on



finding that spiritualism, like godliness, is great gain. Of course, he is an American. America appears favourable to the growth of certain phenomena. The country which rears Barnums and Joe Smiths is distinguished for producing remarkable men; and amongst the number of the latter may certainly be placed the favoured head of the spiritualists, Mr. Home Lyon.

In 1853, the shocking brutality so often practised by husbands upon wives, or upon those who pass for such among the lower classes, compelled parliament to pass an "Act for the better Prevention of Aggravated Assaults upon Women and Children." This act extended the power of punishing, on summary conviction, assaults upon females, and male children under fourteen years of age; and inflicted the penalty of imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months, or a fine not exceeding £20.

In 1854, the Crystal Palace, at Sydenham, was opened by the queen, in the presence of a vast multitude (40,000) of spectators. It stands nearly north and south, on the summit of Penge Hill; its length being 1,608 feet; its greatest breadth, at the central transept, 384, and at the smaller transepts, 336 feet. The glass palace of the Great Exhibition of 1851 having been condemned by the commissioners of woods and works, the structure was purchased by a private company, and helped to form the building whose opening we now record. It was purchased for £75,000, and erected at Sydenham for £120,000. The principal portion of the ground on which it stands was purchased of Mr. Schuster for £86,661. The first column was raised in 1852, before a large assembly of people; at the bottom of which a glass bottle was deposited by Mr. Laing, containing the coins of the realm, and a paper bearing an appropriate description. The building is magnificent, and contains resources for all tastes. There are the following courts:—Egyptian, Grecian, Roman; the Alhambra, Assyrian, Byzantine, German-Gothic, English, French, and Italian-Gothic; Renaissance, Elizabethan, Italian; Mediæval, Pompeian, English, and German modern sculpture; French and Italian modern sculpture;—all filled with interesting specimens and copies. Besides, there is an historical portrait and painting gallery; an industrial department; a natural history collection; and galleries devoted to the sale or exhibition of manufactured articles. The display of waterworks at the Crystal Palace surpasses those of Versailles. The terraces are constructed in the Italian style, and are laid out on a very extensive scale. There is a broad walk, which extends the whole length of the building. At each end are immense towers, 250 feet in height; with tanks on the top of each, to hold 1,200 tons of water, which supply all required about the place. The water comes from an artesian well, 500 feet in depth. In the pleasure grounds is the rosarium, or mount of roses; and the island lakes, on which are erected life-size models of antediluvian animals and reptiles. A library and reading-room, and lectures, are connected with the palace; which, aiming at the education of the masses, has, at any rate, provided all classes of her majesty's subjects with innocent and healthful recreation. For musical art it has done much; and its Handel festivals are on a scale of magnificence and perfection hitherto undreamt of. As a place for dining well, and feasting gaily, it has been in great request, as nowhere could the holiday-maker find a purer air, scenery more attractive, or amusements more entertaining. It has been patronised by as many as 80,000 or 90,000 persons in one day; and, as long as it stands, will be the daily resort of all Londoners, and of all who come to London. Its aims are lofty; in some respects they have been disappointed: but no one can deny but that the Crystal Palace has had a most beneficial effect upon the manners and customs of the age.

In 1856 government permitted a military band to play in Kensington Palace gardens, to the great indignation of the religious public, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who protested against the innovation. Lord Palmerston's reply was as follows:—"I concurred in the arrangements for performances by the military bands in Kensington Gardens, and in the parks, for a couple of hours on Sunday



afternoon, after divine service, because I thought that those arrangements would afford the inhabitants of the metropolis innocent intellectual recreation, combined with fresh air and healthy exercise, and such recreation did not seem to me to be at variance with the soundest and purest sentiments of religion. Such was my opinion, and such is my opinion; for I have heard nothing, on the part of those who object to these arrangements, which has altered my view of the matter. But I find, from your lordship's letter, and from representations which have reached me from other quarters, that a great number of persons, whose opinions are entitled to respect, look upon the matter from a different point of view; and entertain, in regard to it, strong opinions, widely different from my own.

"In this state of things, I am naturally led to ask myself, whether the advantage to be gained by a continuance of the musical performances, is sufficiently great to compensate for the evil of running counter to the religious feelings of a large body of the community? And to that question there can be but one answer—namely, that it is not. I shall, therefore, in deference to the sentiments expressed by your grace, on your own part and on that of others, take steps for discontinuing the bands playing in Kensington Gardens and in the parks on Sundays."

In 1857 the Social Science Association was formed. Its principal promoter was Lord Brougham; but its sittings were attended by all the leading philanthropists, and many of the legislators of the day. Already it has produced a great amount of practical good.

One of the most favourable signs of these latter times, is the system of working-men's industrial exhibitions, which has been developed to a considerable extent. Of these, the principal was the South-London Exhibition, in the Westminster Road. The exhibition managers consisted of the committee of the Surrey Chapel Southwark Mission for the Education of the Working Classes, and the working-men's committee of the Hawkstone Hall Sunday evening services, under the presidency of the Rev. Newman Hall. The exhibitors were reminded that the exhibition was an experiment, to be mainly conducted by themselves. All exhibited articles were to be brought, shown, and removed at the exhibitor's expense, the committee finding the space and stands requisite for their purpose. Each exhibitor received a free pass for his personal use, the public being admitted on payment of twopence each; children under twelve being charged half price. The price of the season tickets was fixed at sixpence each. The articles exhibited were divided into nine classes—useful, ingenious, ornamental, scientific, artistic, literary, amusing, curious, and miscellaneous. The number of exhibitors was 144, including representatives of the following occupations and trades:—Carpenters, chimney-sweepers, shopmen, postmen, whitesmiths, cabinet-makers, printers, joiners, ironfounders, modellers, labourers, engineers, potters, stone-sawyers, coppersmiths, brushmakers, tailors, bookbinders, seamen, paper-makers, glaziers, electrotypists, upholsterers, shoemakers, engineers, gardeners, boat-builders, cork-cutters, and others. In the first class, that of useful articles, a chimney-sweep exhibited an improved water-filter; while a painter displayed some anti-garotting cravats. Amongst the articles of an ingenious nature, was a buttonhole-cutting machine, made by a smith; a tablecloth cover, containing 4,700 diamond-shaped pieces, made by a potman; and a silk shawl, made by an "evangelist." In the ornamental and scientific classes several objects of much interest were displayed, including specimens of the electrotypist's art, a shoemaker's upright bench, a hydrogen gas-lamp of novel construction, models of steam-engines, designs for model cottages, and a mahogany portable lever copying-press. In the artistic and literary classes, the specimens were more numerous than meritorious. A hairdresser exhibited a series of plaster models, including Moses breaking the tablets, and other ambitious attempts. Several exhibitors displayed sketches in oil, water-colours, and pencil, chiefly copies from the large pictures in the *Illustrated London News* and the *British Workman*; while two seamen contributed Berlin-wool-work representations, neatly worked by themselves, of ships, and other nautical objects. The opening



ceremony, with which the exhibition was inaugurated, was presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury; and at the close of the exhibition, it was felt that its results had been beneficial, and that, altogether, it was a great success.

In another quarter, the example thus wisely set was followed. In the Exhibitions of 1851 and 1862 the working classes were chiefly represented by their employers, who devoted their capital to the production of the best specimens of skilled workmanship, and received the honours awarded, without any material prejudice to the interests of the actual producers. In the regulations of the various exhibitions which followed, both in Great Britain and on the continent, the same principle was naturally adopted. It is clear, therefore, that although working-men were not excluded from these displays as exhibitors, the expenses attendant upon producing objects worthy to be placed in competition with those of the capitalists, prevented their availing themselves of that privilege, and that, consequently, it was left to the working classes to do justice to themselves in this respect.

"The idea of holding an exhibition in the north of London," writes Mr. J. F. Wilson, the historian of the North-London Working Classes Exhibition, "first suggested itself to Mr. J. J. Watts, whose connection with several philanthropic institutions in the neighbourhood of Clerkenwell, led him to select that locality for its centre of operation. The small, but successful, exhibition of amateur productions which had been held at Lambeth in the spring of 1864, had proved that the working classes were not only able to furnish an interesting display, but that they were willing to support it by paying a small fee for admission. This, therefore, was considered a sufficient inducement to imitate the commendable example of South London; and a private meeting of a few personal friends of Mr. Watts, resulted in a determination to carry out the scheme. Had the original intention of confining the exhibition to amateur productions of the inhabitants of Clerkenwell been maintained, and its management conducted, as at first intimated by the committee connected with the Lamb and Flag Ragged Schools, it would have differed in no material point from its Lambeth predecessor; but the willingness of several working-men to take the matter up on independent grounds, to accept the labour of its management, and to take the responsibility of its success, caused the proposal to assume a character of its own, and at once alienated it from purely philanthropic association. In April, 1864, accordingly, a committee was selected to form the North-London Working-Man's Industrial Exhibition, consisting of objects manufactured by the exhibitors, either as specimens of skilled workmanship, or examples of self-taught handicraft. The Agricultural Hall was secured. A guarantee fund was raised, Mr. Samuel Morley becoming voluntarily responsible for £100, and Miss Burdett Coutts for the sum of £50. As adjudicators, the committee were fortunate in securing the valuable assistance of P. Le Neve Foster, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Arts, through whose influence the following gentlemen accepted the responsibility of awarding the prize certificates—viz., Thomas Winckworth, Esq.; D. K. Clark, Esq., C.E.; George Wilson, Esq.; J. Nicholay, Esq.; Peter Graham, Esq., and M. Digby Wyatt, Esq. The total number of exhibitors who applied for space within the given time was 868, contributing about 3,000 different articles; and these, with very few exceptions, were deposited in their places before the opening. Other applications, however, were subsequently received; and, in most cases, the objects offered were accepted, but under the condition that no right to prize awards could be claimed on the part of the exhibitors. The ceremonial opening of the exhibition took place on the 17th of October, at three o'clock. At that hour, Earl Russell having taken the chair, the ceremonial commenced by the choir, under the direction of Mr. R. Gleson Wesley, singing the 100th Psalm. Mr. Watts, the hon. secretary, then read a report, descriptive of the history and progress of the exhibition. The noble chairman, accompanied by a select party, then proceeded to inspect the contents of the exhibition; and, on his return, his lordship delivered a short introductory address. On the noble earl resuming his seat, an original ode, written for the occasion, was sung, the solo



parts being taken by Miss Louisa Pyne, Miss Leffler, Mr. Elliot Galer, and Mr. Lewis Thomas, who tendered their services gratuitously. The inaugural prayer was offered up by the Rev. Robert Maguire. The national anthem was then sung by the choir; and, after a vote of thanks had been passed to his lordship for his attendance, Earl Russell made a short speech in reply, and then retired. The vast hall was crowded with visitors during the evening, the majority being of the working classes. There were nearly 6,000 persons present. And this happily continued: to the last the interest in the undertaking was maintained. According to the rules, passed at a public meeting, the exhibition was to have been opened on Mondays and Wednesdays, from ten till five o'clock; and on Saturdays, from ten till three o'clock, admission sixpence: and every evening, except Saturday, from seven till ten; and on Saturday, from five to ten, admission twopence; children, half price. At the time this rule was made, no idea was entertained that the exhibition would prove of so attractive a character, or that so large a building would be engaged for the purpose; still less that vast crowds of visitors would seek admission to it. Before the opening, however, the executive received such unmistakable evidence of the interest taken in the movement, as to demand their extending the time mentioned in the rule; and it was, therefore, announced to be open daily for a fortnight, from nine till five, at sixpence; and from seven till ten, at twopence."

During the first week 62,412 persons entered the building, exclusive of exhibitors and others, who possessed free admission, or attended in the execution of duty. Of these, the majority belonged to the class for whom the exhibition was specially intended; and who, of course, were admitted after seven in the evening. At nine o'clock each night, the hall became so crowded, that the doors were closed; and on Wednesday, the 19th, it was estimated that no less than 5,000 persons were waiting for admission in the streets, when the building was declared to be full.

The unexpected influx of visitors in the evening, forced upon the attention of the executive some method of affording amusement to those who were unable, from the crowded state of the hall, to inspect the exhibition. The services of several choral societies having been gratuitously tendered to the committee, a large orchestra being situated at one end of the building, and an unoccupied gallery surrounding the hall, no difficulty was experienced in at once organising a series of musical performances; and these, while they in no way impeded the inspection of the articles, had the desired effect of drawing away into the galleries a very large number of persons, who otherwise would have very inconveniently crowded the area beneath.

It was anticipated that, after the exhibition had been open a few days, the number of visitors would decrease; and it was hoped that this might, to some extent, be the case, in order that the working-men and their families, who could not attend during the day without making pecuniary sacrifice, might have an opportunity of examining the objects in the evening. Experience, however, proved this to be an illusion, for on Monday, the 17th, a week after its opening, the attendance rose to 17,635; and, on the following Thursday, to 22,002, the highest number; the total for the second week being nearly 100,000.

Under these circumstances it was determined to keep the exhibition open for another week, although the time originally fixed for its closing had expired; but having fulfilled the obligation involved in the rules, of admitting the public for a fortnight at 2d. in the evening, the committee felt justified, with numerous applications, to increase the price of admission. During the last week, therefore, the exhibition was open from nine in the morning until ten in the evening, at a uniform fee of 6d. No less than 34,705 persons were thus admitted, making, altogether, a total of 196,926. It is pleasing to be able to record that not the slightest disorder took place during the entire period of the exhibition. The objects were protected chiefly by voluntary aid from members of the local committee, supplemented by a few policemen, whose presence was rather a precautionary than necessary element in the arrangements.

One of the most interesting sights which the exhibition afforded was witnessed on Wednesday evening, October 19th, when 1,500 children belonging to the Band of Hope Temperance Societies occupied the orchestra, and sang a selection of characteristic songs, under the direction of Mr. Hosier. This demonstration gave such satisfaction, and so many persons were prevented from obtaining admission on the occasion, that it was repeated on Tuesday, November 1.

On Thursday, October 27th, a concert, by the members of the Tonic Sol-Fa Association, took place, under the direction of Mr. Sarl; on Wednesday, November 2nd, a similar entertainment was given, under the leadership of Mr. W. S. Young; and on Saturday, November 5th, Mr. Jennings' choir gave a select vocal concert. Offers were also accepted from Mr. Henken and others, who contributed to the musical arrangements on a lesser scale. Performances upon the organ were given, at different periods, by Dr. Wesley, Miss Stirling, Mr. Prout, Mr. De Solla, Mr. Dean (of St. Olave's), Mr. Davies, and Mr. Tunstall; in addition to which the following bands were in attendance at various periods during the exhibition:—The Royal Victoria Volunteers, the N Division of Police, 39th Middlesex Volunteers, the Central London Rifle Rangers (40th Middlesex), and the 3rd City of London Volunteers.

Of the character of the articles exhibited it is needless to speak. Here, as at Lambeth, was evident the incongruity which existed between the trades of most of the exhibitors, and the character of the works they contributed. Most of the men, it seemed, took refuge from toil in something wholly remote from their daily work. Thus, a hide-splitter sent crayon drawings; an operative chemist, heraldic ones; a compositor, models of steam-boats; a bookbinder, a gun-spring. It appeared that a police-sergeant and a letter-sorter were artists; a clerk was a geographer; a bell-founder was an architect; a barometer-maker turned tailor; and a tailor turned barometer-maker; a second letter-carrier wrote plays; a boot-maker dealt with saucepans; a chaff-cutter turned painter—so did a working smith and a messenger; a solicitor's clerk proposed to colour tobacco-pipes without smoking; a hair-dresser sent a statue, larger than life, of Lady Macbeth; a sailor did needlework; a tailor designed railway tunnels, and made beautiful embroidery; a goldsmith formed beautiful instruments, and designed dog-carts; one soldier produced a counterpane, another a pin-cushion; a barge builder, stuffed birds; a ground labourer executed a table-cloth; a coffee-shop-keeper designed a steel-plated battle-ram; and so on. The number of persons who had love enough for their proper craft, was, of course, very great; and some of their propositions indicated great ability. In this respect, especially, were the post-office servants remarkable. Other persons contributed articles which must have taken a great amount of time and toil to produce. Of this class was a piece of needlework, which was the result of twenty-one years of work. Another illustration of this was a tea-caddy, in more than 2,000 pieces; and the model of a gun in 1,000 pieces. One person sent pictures as the results of early rising; but there were hosts of things valueless, except in so far as they delighted their makers. One thing, adds the *Athenæum* critic, painfully strikes the student of human nature—*i.e.*, the great number of plans, displaying considerable ability, and, in some cases, indomitable patience, which, from the circumstance of their whole service being forestalled by other inventors, are but sheer waste to mankind. It is painful to know, in these cases, that as, day after day, their makers wrought unconquerably, scores of men passed their doors in silence, who could have told them how vain was their labour. The same critic adds—"The lover of art who looks for its progress in the increased knowledge of the people, will rejoice to see how drawing has occupied the leisure of so many scores of men and women, of all crafts and trades. Carpenters, firemen, porters, gas-fitters, butlers, pork-butchers, hatters, boot-makers, bookbinders, and others, all draw; and some draw well."

The financial success of the experiment was very great. The cost of fitting-up the hall amounted to £200; rent, £545; gas, £197; printing, £219; superintendence, police, firemen and attendants (exclusive of committee), £140; advertisements,











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